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MORE than twenty-six years have passed since a crushing defeat suddenly terminated the existence of the Second Empire. A whole generation has since grown up to manhood. Only a few of the men who stood round the throne of the third Napoleon survive. The events of his reign have already become matters of history; and as, in M. Guizot's phrase, the history of 'the day before yesterday' is always imperfectly known, the policy of Napoleon III. is probably less familiar to many people than that of Napoleon I., and the character of the nephew than that of the uncle. Yet the last few years have done much to unveil the plots and counterplots which occurred and recurred during the whole course of the Second Empire. One by one the men who advised the sovereign have contributed to our knowledge of the past. We are no longer dependent on Victor Hugo's impassioned 'Histoire d'un Crime' to appreciate the circumstances in which the Empire had its birth. We know more than M. Zola knew when he wrote the 'Débâcle' of the causes which produced the final catastrophe at Sedan. During the last few months especially the publication of M. de la Gorce's 'Histoire du Second Empire'—a work which has been crowned by the French Academy—of M. de Persigny's

'Memoirs,' of General Lebrun's 'Recollections,' and of M. Émile Ollivier's reminiscences in the 'Revue des Deux 'Mondes,' has thrown new, and in some respects strange, light on many of the events of the period. We ought, in consequence, to be able to sum up the results of the reign, and to weigh the character of the sovereign, without being misled either by the passions or prejudices which affected contemporary writers a quarter of a century ago; and we propose, accordingly, to devote a few pages to the task, with the aid of the books to which we have referred, and whose titles we have placed at the head of this article.

In order that we may fairly appreciate the events to which we shall have to allude we must try to recall the circumstances in which Napoleon rose to the presidency of the French Republic in 1848. At that time a wave of revolution was sweeping over Europe. The election of a Liberal Pope, at the close of 1846, had stimulated the hopes of all those who were opposed to autocratic government. A feverish desire for change was affecting almost every nationality in Europe, and it was inevitable that a movement which was already causing disorder in Italy, and which was about to produce civil war in Austria, and a Chartist demonstration in London, should excite the susceptible population of France. Louis Philippe had reigned over the French people for nearly eighteen years. He had in M. Guizot one of the best-instructed and best-intentioned of modern statesmen as his adviser. All that was most respectable in the respectable middle class was in favour of the monarch and his minister. But France has never been governed for any lengthened period by the bourgeoisie, and no other class had any enthusiasm for Louis Philippe. Legitimists were still desiring the return of the legitimate representative of the Bourbons. The people were still longing for popular government. M. Guizot's sober policy and reasoned utterances failed to impress the imagination. 'The whole system of the Cabinet' (so a Deputy complained) 'may be summed up in the words, '"Nothing, nothing, nothing."' A policy of 'nothing' could not resist the force of a strong popular movement, and a demonstration, which might probably have been suppressed by a little activity, produced the fall of the minister and the flight of the monarch.

We need not recapitulate at any length the events of the succeeding ten months. The brilliant episode of Lamartine's

administration, the terrible rising of the Red Republicans in June, and the presidency of Cavaignac—all these things resulted, in some sort or other, in failure; and these failures led directly to the election of a Napoleon. Since the overthrow of the First Empire, France, in fact, had tried aristocratic government and hereditary monarchy, and had parted from both at the Revolution of July. She had tried middle-class government and constitutional monarchy, and had parted from both at the Revolution of 1848. She had tried popular government and republican institutions, and both had been discredited by the failure of Lamartine and the bloodshed of June. A terror of the Reds threw the friends of order together, and, as the two branches of the Bourbon family were impossible, induced them to concur in the election of the Prince who represented the achievements of the First Empire.

At the time of Louis Napoleon's election to the presidency there were many Frenchmen who had raised themselves to eminence by their abilities. Whatever may be the case in our own time, France in 1848 had no dearth of great men. In Victor Hugo she had a great man of letters, in Arago a great man of science, in De Tocqueville a great political thinker. But besides these men, whose temperaments and whose studies hardly fitted them to play a leading part in a great crisis, she had many others who had raised themselves to distinction in the field, in the Senate, and in the public service. M. Thiers was exercising a profound influence by his knowledge, his patriotism, and his oratory. M. Lamartine, during his brief administration, had impressed the charm of his genius on the nation; and M. Cavaignac had won many adherents by his ability and his character. In addition to these Marshal Bugeaud, the conqueror of Algeria, and General Changarnier, who held the command in Paris, had raised themselves to the front rank by their military capacity. France, therefore, was in no need of a new man. She had men of her own, of proved merit, qualified to fill the first place in her new Republic. And, till the eleventh hour, it seemed certain that the voice of France would be raised in favour of one of them. The Chamber had been just elected by universal suffrage; and M. Emile Ollivier has lately told us that, if the election of a President had been entrusted to the Chamber, more than two-thirds of its votes would have been cast in favour of Cavaignac.

Yet the name of Napoleon, and the memories of the First Empire, proved more potent factors than the oratory of Thiers

or the character of Cavaignac. From the moment that the Prince returned to France, and took his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, his chances steadily improved. If he had not anything to offer, he was ready to offer everything. To those who had been alarmed by the outbreak of revolution he promised order; to the Catholics, the protection of religion; to the Liberals, religious liberty. He assured the friends of peace that peace was the first of his desires; he assured the patriots that his desire for peace would not prevent him from pursuing a resolute foreign policy.

'Je me dévouerai sans arrière-pensée à l'affermissement d'une république sage par ses lois, honnête par ses intentions, grande et forte par ses actes. Je mettrai mon honneur à laisser, au bout de quatre ans, à mon successeur le pouvoir affermi, la liberté intacte, un progrès réel accompli.'

These assurances, made on the eve of the election, fanned the increasing enthusiasm. France, as one of the Prince's supporters afterwards explained, had such need of a Charlemagne that it was pardonable to see a Charlemagne in a Napoleon. The people, by an enormous majority, elected the Prince, and the future Emperor became President of the Republic.

If the French had preferred an unknown prince to the proved capacity of Cavaignac, their preference had not been due to any belief in Napoleon's ability. Nearly all those who were acquainted with him had formed the lowest opinion of his powers. Lord Malmesbury, who had known him for nearly twenty years, described him, in 1829, as a wild harum-scarum youth, apparently without serious thought of any kind. Thiers said of him in 1848, 'Je l'ai beaucoup 'étudié de près et de loin. C'est un homme absolument 'nul.' His attempt at Strasburg and his dramatic descent on Boulogne had increased the contempt which was almost universally felt for him. We know now that the opinion which was formed of Louis Napoleon before 1848 was as erroneous as that which was formed of him after 1852. In later years, indeed, it was said with some point that he had twice deceived Europe—once by convincing men that he was a fool, and once by persuading them that he was a statesman. Posterity will not readily admit that the man who planned the *coup d'état* was a fool, but will equally hesitate to allow that the man who embarked on the Franco-German war was a statesman. The fact is that Napoleon had a genius for plot and counter-plot, which might have made the

fortune of the leader of a secret society. 'Rêveur et con-'spirateur,' writes M. de la Gorce, 'il le fut sur le trône et 'toujours.

There were, indeed, other phases in Napoleon's character which would have ensured for the man respect in almost any other capacity than that which he was called on to fill. M. de la Gorce ustly speaks of his excellent heart. He says elsewhere—

'Quelles que fussent les rigueurs de la politique, son penchant le porta presque toujours vers la clémence. Sa constante bonté lui valut quelques affections durables qui l'honorèrent, et s'honorèrent elles-mêmes par une fidélité plus forte que la disgrâce. Il eut le louable désir de la paix civile, et l'ambition de rétablir la liberté qu'il avait jadis abattue. Par-dessus tout, il aima le peuple, non pas spécialement le sien (car il était plus humanitaire que patriote), mais tous les peuples; c'est-à-dire les pauvres, les faibles, les déshérités. A la nouvelle de sa mort l'un de ses adversaires disait: "Je l'ai combattu, mais je n'ai pu me résigner à le haïr." Ce mot peint bien, je crois, la pensée commune: et, par une singulière indulgence, faite de compassion, faite aussi de gratitude pour une ancienne prospérité, la nation, qui a tant souffert des erreurs de son souverain, se contente de ne pas le regretter.'

The better side of the Emperor's character was reflected in the lady who became his wife. The strong religious views which the Empress entertained were frequently a cause of embarrassment to her husband. Those, indeed, who a few years ago read M. Thouvenel's 'Le Secret de 'l'Empereur' probably arrived at the conclusion that its author had no secret to disclose. But they must have been impressed by the evidence which M. Thouvenel produced of the vast influence which the Empress exerted on all questions of policy affecting the Roman Church. The Empress, however, was not merely strong in her devotion to the Church; she shared with the Emperor a genuine desire to alleviate the lot of the poor. There is a pleasant story that the municipality of Paris voted a sum of 300,000 francs to purchase her a tiara of diamonds as a wedding gift. She refused the present in these terms:

'J'éprouve un sentiment pénible en songeant que le premier acte public qui s'attache à mon nom au moment de mon mariage est une dépense considérable pour la ville de Paris. Vous me rendrez plus heureuse en employant en charités la somme que vous aviez fixée. Je désire que mon mariage ne soit l'occasion d'aucune charge nouvelle pour le pays auquel j'appartiens désormais: la seule chose que j'ambitionne c'est de partager avec l'Empereur l'amour et l'estime du peuple française."

We gladly dwell on these pleasant traits in the character of the Emperor and the Empress at the commencement of an article in which we shall have little else to say in favour of the Second Empire. The better qualities of the man cannot, indeed, be allowed to condone the faults of the sovereign; but, on the other hand, the faults of the sovereign should not wholly blind us to the better qualities of the man.

These amiable traits in the Emperor's character, however, could not redeem his fatal defects as a ruler. No man who has risen to a position of equal prominence has ever displayed so great a difficulty in making up his own mind. From the beginning to the end of his career he was incapable of decision; and the helm of State, which he hesitated to guide, was constantly grasped by firmer men who had the merit of knowing what they wanted to do. It is this circumstance which gives so much interest to the posthumous memoirs of M. de Persigny, which we have placed at the head of this article. There is, indeed, some difficulty in forming a just appreciation of M. de Persigny's character. If we follow M. de la Gorce we shall regard him as a 'personnage fantasque, dévoué, mais exigeant, tout à fait 'inégal à sa haute fortune.' If, on the contrary, we accept M. de Persigny's own account, we shall look upon him as exercising a controlling influence. The truth possibly lies between the two extremes.

In the first days of the presidency Napoleon desired to steer a middle course. He had promised to maintain the Republic, and he chose as his ministers the friends of republicans, like Thiers; he placed at the head of his Government Odilon Barrot, a man whose vehement oratory would have made him—so Cobden thought—a second Bright if he had been born in England, but who in M. de Persigny's opinion was a mere puppet in Thiers's hands, a man of whom a friend sneeringly said, 'No man in the 'whole world thinks so deeply of nothing.' All that M. de Persigny could do was to associate with Thiers's friends M. de Falloux, an avowed Royalist, whose memoirs should be carefully compared with M. de Persigny's narrative. But he wished to do much more. He thought that the Prince's election should have led directly to a change of men; that the President should have surrounded himself with ministers prepared to give effect to a new policy, and who, in their turn, should have removed almost every préfet in France.

Though M. de Persigny was unable, in the first instance, to enforce his own views on his irresolute master, he laboured

vigorously to counteract the error which he conceived the Government had made in neglecting to effect a summary change of officials. He feared that the old machinery would be powerless to prevent the triumph of the Red Republicans at the coming election, and that France, at the very commencement of the presidency, would be subjected to a new Reign of Terror. Widely as the ministers differed on other subjects from M. de Persigny, they shared his apprehensions, and they urged, as the best means of combating revolution, that Bugeaud should be brought, from his command at Lyons, to Paris, and made Minister of War. But, though M. de Persigny shared or inspired the apprehensions of the ministers, he wholly dissented from the remedy which they proposed. He thought that Marshal Bugeaud, instead of being brought to Paris, should be left at Lyons, at the head of the Army of the Alps, and that he should be instructed, if the necessity should arise, to join hands with Changarnier, who held the command in Paris, and to check, by concerted action, any popular rising.

Napoleon, so M. de Persigny thought, shared these views; but he shrank, characteristically, from formally adopting them. He contented himself with sending M. de Persigny to Lyons to confer with the Marshal. He evidently desired that the Marshal should accept the responsibility of deciding on the course to be pursued.

With such instructions—or rather without instructions—M. de Persigny left Paris on the eve of the general election. As he passed through Châlons the evident excitement of the populace convinced him that a new revolution was imminent. Groups of men ran through the streets waving the red flag, and shouting, 'A bas les Blancs! Vive la répu-'blique démocratique et sociale!' Lyons was in a state of disorganisation. Money had disappeared; it was not possible to cash a note. The préfet, frightened out of his senses, begged M. de Persigny to forward his resignation to the President, and to ask that his successor might at once be appointed. The news which arrived from neighbouring towns was grave.

'Ce n'était pas seulement dans la ville de Lyon et dans le département du Rhône, mais dans tous les départements voisins, que la liste des Rouges menaçait de l'emporter. Les populations . . . acclamaient partout les listes rouges. Le cri de: "A bas les blancs!" poussé dans les villes et dans les campagnes, bouleversait toutes les têtes.'

And the first news that arrived from the polling places was equally serious.

'Les résultats officiels des élections commençaient à parvenir . . . et malheureusement à chaque dépêche, arrivant des départements voisins, c'était une nouvelle victoire de la démagogie. Après le Rhône venaient l'Ain, la Loire, l'Isère, l'Ardèche, le Jura, la Haute-Loire, Saône-et-Loire, la Drôme, etc., toute une vaste région de la France avait acclamé les coryphées du Socialisme.'

There was a wide difference between Bugeaud and de Persigny. The former had risen to fame under Louis Philippe; and his faith and hope were with the Orleanists. The latter was an Imperialist by conviction, and the personal friend of the Prince President. But both of them were imbued with a terror of the Reds, and with a conviction that their success would lead to civil war. Persigny persuaded Bugeaud that the only hope of preserving order lay in the Prince President; and Bugeaud, alarmed at the disorders in Lyons, and afraid that the excitement surging in the city would extend to his troops, decided to evacuate the town, holding only its forts, to put his whole army, scattered from the Alps to the centre of France, in motion, to concentrate it on some point between Lyons and Paris, and, joining hands with Changarnier, to prepare for crushing the democracy. Happily, perhaps, for Bugeaud's reputation, better news came from the provinces before this decision could be carried out. If Lyons and its neighbourhood had supported the Reds, the rest of France rallied to the cause of order. The movement on which Bugeaud had decided became obviously unnecessary. The orders which had been issued to the troops were countermanded; they were directed to fall back on their original positions; and the experiment of the Republic was allowed to be tried for another two years.

If M. de Persigny's account of this episode is trustworthy —and it must be remembered that it rests on his authority— it shows that, from the election of the President, there stood behind his chair a man who held no office, but who had a power greater than that of any responsible minister—a man who saw from the first that, though the President owed his election to a plébiscite, Napoleonism rested on force, and that force must be employed, whenever the occasion arose, to maintain it in power. This view was to receive a striking illustration at the end of 1851. Affairs at that time, it may be admitted, were in a critical position. From the summer of 1849 to the autumn of 1851 everyone observed a growing tension between the President and the Assembly. Month by month it became increasingly evident that a

Napoleon elected by universal suffrage, and supported by the army, was necessarily drifting towards Imperialism. Month by month it became equally plain that the Assembly, composed chiefly of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans, was opposed to the drift. In May 1850 it endeavoured to combat it by an electoral law which largely restricted the franchise. The passage of such a law constituted a direct challenge to the Prince, whose power was founded on a plébiscite. But, except for the reconstruction of the Ministry, the substitution of M. Baroche for Barrot, and the introduction into the Cabinet of men like Achille Fould and Rouher, who subsequently held high positions in the Empire, no definite step was taken till January 1851. At the beginning of that month Changarnier, whose tendencies had previously been in doubt, and who had earned in consequence the nickname of 'the Sphinx,' issued an order to the army directing the troops to abstain on parade from every manifestation and from every cry. The order was avowedly occasioned by the fact that, at a recent review, the soldiers had received the President with the shout: 'Vive Napoléon!'; and Changarnier was at once removed by the President himself from the command of the Army of Paris.

The removal of Changarnier was the first act of overt war between the President and the Assembly; and, by placing the Army of Paris under Baraguay d'Hilliers, a soldier in whom the President could confide, it led indirectly to the *coup d'état*. During the whole of 1851 the President was preparing for this event, and towards the end of October he precipitated matters by nominating a new Ministry of his own—by placing M. de Maupas over the police, and St. Arnaud at the head of the War Office—and by demanding the repeal of the electoral law of 1850. The obvious disinclination of the Chambers to do his bidding gave some sort of justification for what followed. On the night of December 2 the most prominent statesmen and generals in Paris were arrested in their beds. On the following morning Paris awoke to find the streets covered with placards, announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, the institution of universal suffrage, and the approaching election of a President for a term of ten years. Troops, carefully stationed at central positions, controlled the streets, and prevented the assembling of the Chambers. The Deputies who endeavoured to meet elsewhere were summarily arrested. Before the dawn of December 3 two hundred and thirty-five

of the representatives of the people, including twelve statesmen of Cabinet rank, were in prison. Before the following day had closed Paris ran red with blood. Resistance in the provinces was subsequently stamped out with the ferocity which had been displayed in Paris.

'None will ever know,' wrote Kinglake, 'the number of men who at this period were either killed or imprisoned in France, or sent to die in Africa or Cayenne; but the panegyrist of Louis Bonaparte and his fellow-plotters acknowledges that the number of people who were seized and transported within the few weeks which followed the 2nd of December amounted to the enormous number of twenty-six thousand five hundred.'

We do not forget that Louis Napoleon's conduct was approved by Lord Palmerston, and that it was subsequently condoned by a vote of the French people, when we record our deliberate opinion that the *coup d'état* was one of the greatest crimes against society which any ruler of any civilised nation has committed during the present century. There may be occasions of great national emergency when it may be the duty of those who are responsible for the safety of a State to arrogate to themselves unconstitutional powers, but nothing that had occurred in France in 1851 justified such an usurpation. No doubt a serious tension existed between the President and the Assembly; no doubt the peculiar Constitution of 1848, which omitted to entrust the President with the power of dissolution, created some embarrassment; but the head of the State was the last person in France who should have encountered the evils of civil war for the purpose of terminating the crisis. It might have been his duty to resist the attacks of others, but nothing could justify his attacking the Constitution himself.

M. de Persigny has the merit to conceal in his 'Memoirs' the precise part which he may have taken personally in the *coup d'état*, and he has shown elsewhere so clear a desire to arrogate to himself the credit, or discredit, of the various measures by which Napoleon rose to the throne, that perhaps we may absolve him of direct responsibility and say, with Kinglake, that the hand of Persigny was not the hand employed to execute the measures of the Elysée. But, if we may acquit him of complicity in the crime of 1851, we have his own confession that he took a leading part in introducing the Empire. The story is usually told that the préfet of Bourges, where Napoleon slept on an autumn progress in 1852, gave the people instructions to shout

'Vive Napoléon!' But it is added that he wrote 'Vive 'Napoléon!!!' and that the people, mistaking the three notes of admiration for a numeral, hailed the Prince as 'Napoleon III.' But the story reads very differently in M. de Persigny's pages. M. de Persigny declares that, on the eve of the President's journey, he asked the Cabinet for definite instructions as to the policy which he should pursue during the progress. 'What instructions can you want?' asked his colleagues. 'We are on the eve of a great crisis,' M. de Persigny answered. 'The people have been saved from 'the dangers of anarchy; they will probably show their 'enthusiasm in their cries. Suppose they raise a shout of '"Vive l'Empereur!"' The Cabinet at these words was in positive uproar. They rose from their seats, broke into small groups, and angrily asked M. de Persigny if he wanted civil war. Napoleon himself was agitated by the unexpected scene. He deprecated any desire for change, and any attempt to bring about any unconstitutional demonstration. M. de Persigny seemed entirely isolated. Napoleon had emphatically disapproved his counsel. His colleagues asked him whether he did not intend to resign.

Instead, however, of resigning, Persigny pondered over the situation. He had no doubt that the people, on the one hand, were expecting and desiring the restoration of the Empire, and that, among the cheers with which Napoleon would be greeted, isolated cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' would be heard. But he had also no doubt that the authorities, left without instructions, would feel it their duty to suppress these cries, which would accordingly be drowned in the more general shout of 'Vive la République!' So thinking, on the eve of Napoleon's journey, he decided on sending for the préfets of the departments which Napoleon would reach first; and as M. Abbatucci, the Minister of Justice, was the personal friend of the préfet of the Loire, he passed him over and summoned M. Pastoureau, the préfet of the Cher, the department in which Bourges is situated.

M. de Persigny thus describes his interview with Pastoureau:—

'There is a train,' he began, 'leaving Paris for Bourges in an hour. Take care to catch it. Resume your duties without seeing any one here, and without letting a soul know your secret instructions. These instructions are, "L'Empire!" "Vive l'Empereur!" And let us not make a mistake. The Duke de Reichstadt never reigned. But he was proclaimed Emperor by his father. Render, then, this homage to the memory of a great man, and announce the nephew as Napoleon III.

I have already told you to summon all the municipalities of your department. Set in hand, without losing a moment, flags inscribed "Vive l'Empereur!" on one side and "Vive Napoléon III!" on the other. Place the same inscriptions on the triumphal arches under which the Prince will pass. Preserve the utmost secrecy in these preparations, and, when the day comes, telegraph to me, from hour to hour, all that occurs.'

The préfet was electrified by these instructions. He assumed—as he well might assume—that they were the orders of the Government. He returned to give effect to them; and, as he telegraphed the details of the Prince's reception and the enthusiastic cries which had greeted Napoleon III., M. de Persigny at once communicated the news to the rest of the departments. The electric telegraph was used to galvanise France into enthusiasm for the Second Empire.

If it be really true that M. de Persigny issued these orders to the préfet without the knowledge of, or rather in defiance of, the wishes of the President and his own colleagues, we can only say that he took upon himself a graver responsibility than any other public man of the present century has incurred. The mere fact that he judged the situation more correctly than others, and that France approved by a plébiscite the proclamation of the Empire, cannot condone the disloyalty of his conduct. And, if his narrative be correct, he was guilty immediately afterwards of a less important but similar treachery. The crown had been firmly set on Napoleon's brow; but it was still necessary to gild it; and the Cabinet, at the suggestion of M. Fould and with the approval of the Emperor, agreed to propose a civil list of 12,000,000 fr. (480,000*l.*) a year. M. de Persigny from the first thought the proposal a mistake. Louis Philippe had received a civil list of 18,000,000 fr. The civil list of Louis XVI. had amounted to 25,000,000 fr. Fifty millions in 1853 was, in M. de Persigny's judgement, the equivalent of 25,000,000 fr. in the latter half of the eighteenth century; and a civil list of 12,000,000 fr., therefore, was practically only one-fourth the sum which had been thought necessary to support the dignity of Louis XVI. The Cabinet, however, adhered to M. Fould's proposal. The Emperor himself, when M. de Persigny approached him on the subject, declined to allow him to reopen the question. And the matter was apparently settled.

Nothing, however, was ever settled when M. de Persigny was opposed to the decision, and on this occasion, as on the

more important one to which we have already referred, 'a sudden thought' came across his brain and suggested a new act of treachery. The Senate was on the eve of meeting, and M. de Persigny summoned his carriage and drove to the Senate. He met M. Troplong, its president, at the entrance, holding in his hands the proposal for 12,000,000 fr. M. Troplong had been present at the Cabinet at which this amount had been agreed upon, and had rather feebly supported M. de Persigny's more liberal suggestion. M. de Persigny now assured him that his arguments had had a wonderful effect on the Emperor, who had come round to the larger view and consented to the 25,000,000 fr. M. Troplong accepted M. de Persigny's assurance, entered an adjoining room, and altered the amount. Within a few hours the civil list of 25,000,000 fr. was voted by the Senate.

If this story be true it affords striking proof of the unscrupulous character of one, at least, of the men who stood round Napoleon's throne. But we hesitate to accept it on the testimony of a man who charges himself with a gross lie. We cannot but think that M. de Persigny, on this occasion at any rate, was less guilty than his confession makes him appear, and that the message which he carried to the president of the Senate was delivered with the approval, or at any rate with the knowledge, of the Emperor.

Through plot and bloodshed, falsehood and treachery, Napoleon had now reached the goal of his ambition. President, Emperor, Napoleon III., he had it all—all that his brooding imagination had ever contemplated. But the hardest portion of his work was still before him. He had to live up to the name which had won him the throne; and this was the very thing which he was unlikely to be able to do. It is said that Jerome Bonaparte once said to him, 'You have nothing of the Emperor about you;' and that the Emperor replied, 'You are mistaken, my dear 'uncle: I have his family.' In all other respects the new Emperor had none of the qualities which distinguished the old. What talents he possessed had already been displayed in the plots and intrigues which had procured his elevation. We might almost thenceforward apply to him Carlyle's saying of Brienne, 'It took such talent and industry to 'gain the place that to qualify for it hardly any talent or 'industry was left disposable.'

It was obvious, too, that no little ability was required to place the new Emperor in a firm position. The excitement of the moment had procured his elevation to the throne;

but the recollection of the *coup d'état* could not be permanently obliterated. 'It was necessary,' as Kinglake put it, 'to distract France from thinking of her shame at home 'by sending her attention abroad.' The Emperor, indeed, to do him justice, was probably averse from war. He endeavoured to reassure the Continent by his striking declaration, 'L'Empire, c'est la paix,' and he tried to reconcile the people to his rule by inaugurating a system of public works, which almost involved the reconstruction of Paris and the embellishment of every provincial town. He had the good fortune to find in M. Haussmann an administrator who was prepared to carry out his sovereign's suggestions at any cost. We are not now going to criticise a policy which, on the one hand, covered France with works of which she is naturally proud, but, on the other, crippled her with an expenditure which has left an enduring mark on her finances. We content ourselves with recording M. de la Gorce's pregnant saying of M. Haussmann, 'De 'toutes les créations du Second Empire, la sienne est presque 'la seule qui ait complètement survécu.'

But, however much the Emperor may have hoped to avoid the necessity of war by occupying the people at home, events proved too strong for him. In Great Britain, indeed, apprehensions were everywhere entertained that a new Napoleon would endeavour to avenge the defeat of the First Empire by reversing the verdict of Waterloo. But, though genuine alarm was felt both by statesmen and people in this country, perhaps there was never any great danger of a conflict with France at that time. In the first place, most of Napoleon's advisers realised the grave risks of attacking a country which was predominant at sea; and, in the next place, Napoleon himself, during his long exile, had formed many friendships in England, and was reluctant to quarrel with a country whose power he had learned to respect and whose hospitality he had enjoyed. Some other issue had to be discovered which the strength of France could be employed to determine. There was one cause in which popularity could obviously be acquired. France was both a religious and a Catholic country, and the party of order, which had rallied to Napoleon's support, was precisely that which was most anxious to sustain the interests of the Church. Already, at the commencement of his presidency, Napoleon had resolved on that occupation of Rome which—with one short interval—was destined to continue till the closing months of his reign. In the East,

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however, questions were arising of almost as great interest to devout Roman Catholics as the maintenance of the temporal authority of the Pope. In 1740 France had acquired, by treaty with the Porte, the right of protecting the holy places at Jerusalem. But an age which was reading Voltaire, and which was preparing the Revolution of 1789, cared comparatively little for the right which it had thus obtained; and, as time went on, Russia succeeded in extracting from the Porte several promises inconsistent with the privilege which had been accorded to France. These discordant concessions, however, had attracted little attention till the French ambassador at Constantinople was instructed to demand the strict execution of the arrangements of 1740. The Sultan was thus placed in a position of great difficulty. He could not comply with the demands of France without withdrawing the concessions which he had made to Russia. Throughout 1852 he endeavoured to gain time. But before the year closed the persistence of the French compelled him to yield; and this concession, profoundly irritating to Russia, induced the Czar to strengthen his armies on the Turkish frontier, and, in the beginning of 1853, to despatch Prince Mentschikoff on a special mission to the Porte.

We have neither the space nor the inclination in this article to describe the negotiations which followed, or the events of the terrible war which interrupted the forty years' peace. If the Crimean war was justifiable, there is no necessity for defending the Emperor's conduct. If, on the contrary, it was both a mistake and a crime, France and her Emperor were not the only criminals. In connexion, however, with what we have already said it is interesting to observe how largely M. de Persigny was responsible for the rupture. He was the one of Napoleon's advisers who desired to resent the foolish conduct of the Czar in addressing the Emperor, after his accession to the throne, as 'Monsieur et bon ami,' instead of as 'Monsieur 'mon frère;' and, later on, he was the minister who – against the advice of all his colleagues—induced Napoleon to take the decisive step of ordering the French fleet to Salamis. It is worth while also observing that, if the results of the war were not commensurate with the exertions which it called forth, and the sacrifices which it necessitated, the one man in Europe who gained most from the struggle was the Emperor himself.

'Les vrais fruits de la victoire,' writes M. de la Gorce with great justice, 'c'étaient la nouvelle consécration de son nom, l'impuissance

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désormais avérée des partis, et par-dessus tout, aux yeux de l'Europe comme de la France, la légitimation de son avènement.'

The months which followed the close of the war, in fact, saw the zenith of Napoleon's career. He had succeeded, so far, in all he had attempted. He had raised himself and his country to the first rank among sovereigns and nations. He had conquered his enemies abroad, he had stifled opposition at home. He had apparently persuaded his people that a benevolent despotism was the best of all possible governments; and with increasing prosperity at home, with peace apparently assured abroad, he had almost induced them to forget the liberties which they had lost.

For some years, indeed, after the conclusion of the Crimean war the position of France and the power of the Emperor seemed apparently undisturbed. Armed to the teeth, the country was regarded as the most formidable of Continental nations. The peace of Europe, to all appearances, depended on the will of her sovereign, the undisputed master of her legions. Yet Napoleon himself could hardly have been deceived by the circumstances which alarmed the European world. He must have been conscious of increasing difficulties both at home and abroad. At home the elections of 1857 resulted in the return of an Opposition, small indeed in numbers but fertile in resources, whose growing strength ultimately compelled the Emperor to introduce large and liberal innovations into his system of government. Abroad the persistence of Count Cavour was gradually forcing the claims of Italy into prominence, and compelling the Emperor to assume an attitude which was destined to drive him into a new war. Few statesmen, indeed, at the time foresaw the consequences of the Franco-Austrian war of 1859; yet M. de la Gorce is hardly wrong in attributing the ultimate downfall of the Empire to the Emperor's Italian policy. He is scarcely exaggerating when he writes, 'C'est en Italie que s'est décidé le sort du Second 'Empire.'

Many reasons, both public and private, induced the Emperor to hesitate before finally determining to throw in his lot with Piedmont. The policy of Cavour was directly opposed to the cause of Rome; and the Emperor, both on public and private grounds, had every desire to keep on good terms with the Pope. The attitude of religious France, the views of the Empress, were equally opposed to a quarrel with the head of the Catholic Church; and the Emperor himself was aware that the support of the Pope

would impart strength to his own throne, and improve the prospects of his son's succession. French statesmen, moreover, were disposed to regard the consolidation of Italy as unfavourable to the interests of France. It was the tradition of the Foreign Office that their country should be surrounded by weak neighbours, and they considered it a mere act of madness to further the creation of a second Prussia behind the Alps. In addition to these weighty reasons there was a practical difficulty in insisting on the non-intervention of Austria in Italian affairs. For if Austrian troops were occupying the States of the Church, French troops were holding Rome itself; and, as Lord Clarendon adroitly reminded Cavour in 1856, if Piedmont was determined to protest against Austrian action, how could she avoid following up her protest by denouncing the French occupation of Rome?

If a man with either less ability or more scruples than Cavour had presided over the ministry at Turin, these reasons would probably have prevented the Franco-Austrian war of 1859. But no arguments and no difficulties ever weighed with Cavour against his resolute determination to make his own country supreme in Italy. The first decisive step which he took in this direction was taken when he prevailed on the Western allies to accept the assistance of Piedmont in the Crimea. Though France and England refused to pledge themselves to ulterior measures in return for this assistance, Cavour succeeded in establishing, by his action, a strong claim on their future goodwill. And this claim was recognised by the admission of Piedmont to the Congress, summoned after the war, at Paris, while Cavour gained at it the further advantage of securing an informal discussion of the condition of Italy. These successes raised Cavour in the eyes of Europe, and placed the Italian question on a new basis. But Cavour probably attached still more importance to the unofficial expressions of sympathy and support which he obtained from the Emperor both before and after the Congress. 'Tell Walewski in 'confidence,' so the Emperor said to the Piedmontese minister before the Congress met, 'what you think I can do for 'Italy.' He added, after the Congress was over, 'I cannot 'at the present moment make war upon Austria. But do 'not distress yourself; I have a conviction that peace will 'not last long.'

It is probable that the Emperor at the time meant little by these expressions. Habitually irresolute, he certainly

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had not made up his mind to risk all the consequences of a fresh war. But his words naturally induced Cavour to persevere in his policy. In the early months of 1857 the Piedmontese minister encouraged the formation of the Société Nationale Italienne, a society which openly advocated the cause of Italy in Piedmont, and secretly enrolled its supporters in Lombardy and Venetia. The society, or Cavour, influenced the press both in Piedmont and in Europe. Attention was thus everywhere directed to the wrongs of Italy, and the minister lost no opportunity of pressing its cause on the Emperor, on whose decision the whole issue seemed to depend.

Matters were thus slowly progressing when Orsini made his horrible attempt on the Emperor's life. Orsini was an Italian refugee; he had laid his infamous plans in this country; and the French press and the French colonels loudly complained that, under the pretext of hospitality, an allied nation should afford shelter to assassins. Lord Palmerston, who was at the height of his power, was driven from office because he was supposed to have insufficiently resented the complaint. But London was not the only capital in Europe which was affording shelter to Italian refugees. In no country were they more numerous than in the kingdom of Sardinia. A journal, moreover, published in Piedmont had the hardihood to excuse Orsini's crime. Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, demanded the suppression of the paper, and invited the Government of Piedmont to provide for the security of mankind. Frenchmen of all parties besought the Emperor to abandon the ungrateful people who repaid his kindness with murder. And M. de Hübner, the Austrian Minister at Paris, declared that the moment was come for forming a strict alliance between France and Austria. Thus for a few weeks statesmen seemed justified in thinking that all Cavour's hopes and preparations had been destroyed by Orsini's outrage. The understanding between France and Piedmont, so carefully prepared by Cavour, was apparently shattered by the explosion of Orsini's bombs. But it is the unforeseen which constantly happens in history. In undertaking Orsini's defence Jules Favre did not attempt to deny the crime; but he endeavoured to excuse it by representing the assassin as a martyr, laying down his life for the cause of Italy; and he concluded his defence by reading a letter from Orsini to the Emperor, in which the murderer made a strong appeal to his intended victim.

'J'adjure votre Majesté de rendre à l'Italie l'indépendance que ses enfants ont perdue en 1849 par la faute même des Français. Que votre Majesté se rappelle que les Italiens, au milieu desquels était mon père, versèrent avec joie leur sang pour Napoléon le Grand, partout où il lui plut de les conduire; qu'elle se rappelle que tant que l'Italie ne sera pas indépendante, la tranquillité de l'Europe et celle de votre Majesté ne seront qu'une chimère. Que votre Majesté ne repousse pas le vœu suprême d'un patriote sur les marches de l'échafaud; qu'elle délivre ma patrie, et les bénédictions de vingt-cinq millions de citoyens la suivront dans la postérité.'

The testament of Orsini—as Jules Favre called it at the time—followed up, as it was, by a second letter to the Emperor on the eve of his execution, made an extraordinary impression. The Emperor himself was profoundly moved by the appeal which had been made to him. Whether in his earlier days he had been the 'complice des libéraux 'Italiens,' whether as such he recognised that his old fellow-conspirators had special claims on him in his new position, or whether he was simply unnerved by the horrible nature of the attempt on his life, and alarmed at the possibility of its repetition—these are questions to which it is impossible to give a decisive answer. What is certain is that the very attempt, which seemed at first to have destroyed the Franco-Piedmontese alliance, drew France and Piedmont still more closely together, and that Orsini's letters in February were followed by the secret meeting of Cavour and Napoleon at Plombières in June.

Even in the life of the third Napoleon few incidents are more discreditable than the details of this famous interview. The most powerful of European sovereigns, and the ablest of European statesmen, deliberately devised a pretext for attacking Austria. With equal deliberation they decided what Piedmont should receive, and what she should cede. They rearranged the map of Italy and the boundaries of Southern France; while one, at least, of the two men fixed on the actual date at which this conspiracy should take effect. Napoleon, indeed, pursued for some months after Plombières a policy of concealment, which made it impossible for statesmen to divine his true intentions. He half persuaded Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, who visited him at Compiègne during the autumn, that peace would be undisturbed. And though, on the first day of 1859, he startled the world by his famous complaint to M. de Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris—'Je regrette 'que nos relations avec votre gouvernement ne soient plus

'aussi bonnes que par le passé' *—and though he sanctioned, or rather inspired, the famous pamphlet 'Napoléon III 'et l'Italie,' he repeated, in February, in opening the French Legislature, the promise of his reign, 'L'Empire c'est la 'paix,' and he readily grasped at the good offices of this country to arrange possible terms with Austria. But the negotiations which ensued were, from the first, destined to fail. The question of peace or war rested with the Emperor; and the Emperor, at Plombières, had placed himself in the hands of the statesman who was resolved on war, and who was determined that Napoleon should not forego the engagements which he had made.

In the first instance the Franco-Austrian war increased the Emperor's reputation. Europe was startled to observe that the Emperor, while professing that he was unprepared, was able to throw a formidable army across the Alps; to defeat the best troops of Austria in two battles; and to drive the Austrian army before him into the famous Quadrilateral. On the other hand reflection showed that the Emperor had failed to carry out his avowed intention of freeing Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, while statesmen knew that the armistice, which was concluded at Villafranca, was attributable to Napoleon's necessities and fears, and not to his moderation. Possibly, indeed, the Emperor's better nature was touched by the sufferings which he witnessed at Solferino, and by the knowledge that serious sickness was spreading among his troops. But it is certain that he was profoundly alarmed by the attitude of Prussia, and by the possibility of a fresh campaign being forced on him on the Rhine † while his best troops were engaged in Lombardy. By embarking on the war he had earned the distrust of every Power in Europe. By desisting from the war he had estranged himself from his new ally. Every step which he took in future increased his growing difficulties, till the war

* This is the accepted account of the incident. But we have it from one, to whom Count Hübner related the affair, that the Emperor's words, whatever they were, were not intended, and not understood, to convey a threat. They were, however, overheard, and misunderstood, by the Secretary to another Embassy, who immediately reported to his Government, and put in public circulation, the phrase —with the menacing signification—that alarmed all Europe.

† Count Vitzthum told Lord Malmesbury in May that, if Austria were defeated, nothing would prevent Germany from rising, and that if the allies gained a battle 400,000 men would march on Paris ('Memoirs of a Minister,' p. 486).

appeared in its true light, as M. de la Gorce calls it—'funeste, mais pour la France seulement.' The cause of Italy did not, indeed, suffer from the alteration in the Emperor's policy. But the Italians were taught to recognise that all that was effected both in 1859 and in 1860 was accomplished in opposition to the Emperor. In 1859 the Duchies and Tuscany voluntarily threw in their lot with Piedmont, and Italy understood that they owed more, in doing so, to the diplomatic labours of English statesmen than to the previous interposition of France. In 1860 Garibaldi's invasion led to the conquest of the Two Sicilies, while Lamoricière's defeat at Castelfidardo procured the annexation of the States of the Church to Piedmont. The Piedmontese kingdom became the kingdom of Italy. Religious France saw with surprise and regret the abandonment of the Church. Military France saw with mortification the defeat of a French general in command of French volunteers. Political France saw with dismay a new and powerful country consolidating on its south-eastern frontier.

Throughout the period in which these decisive events were occurring the Emperor was in a state of almost ludicrous irresolution. Just as, before the Italian war, he had inspired the publication of 'Napoléon III et l'Italie,' so at the close of 1859 he inspired the equally famous pamphlet 'Le Pape et le Congrès.' He tried to prove, in its pages, that the Pope's position would be strengthened by the voluntary sacrifice of his temporal power; but its publication defeated all the objects at which he was aiming. The French Foreign Minister, M. Walewski, resigned office, because he was unable to obtain an official disavowal of its contents. The Congress, on which the Emperor had set his heart, became impracticable, from the mere knowledge of his views; and the Catholic party in France broke from the Emperor.

If M. de Persigny may be trusted, he strove vigorously to persuade the Emperor to take another course. He protested strongly against Lamoricière being allowed to go to Rome; and he advised the Emperor to occupy the Marches with French troops, instead of suffering their defence to be entrusted to Lamoricière's feeble forces. In 1860, however, M. de Persigny no longer exercised the influence which he had exerted in the earlier years of the Empire. The Emperor listened, but did nothing. Yet M. de Persigny's advice was supported by Napoleon's official counsellors. M. de Grammont, the French ambassador at Rome, wrote

to M. Thouvenel, the Foreign Minister of France, begging that he might be authorised to contradict the rumours of French inaction, which reached him from every quarter. M. Thouvenel, in his turn, wrote to the Emperor, who was at Marseilles, and begged for instructions. The Emperor affected to believe that the whole question was so clear that it was hardly worth examination. He was perfectly ready to write to the King of Piedmont, but he should write in such terms as these: Should the Piedmontese troops eventually cross the frontier to preserve order, or to put down an insurrection, France would have nothing to say. But if, while a French army was occupying Rome, a Piedmontese army should invade the territory of the Church, France would be compelled to withdraw her minister from Turin. In vain M. Thouvenel urged the Emperor to despatch a positive ultimatum to Piedmont; the Emperor toned down its language till it became a friendly message.

'Entre la dépêche impériale et la rédaction libellée au quai d'Orsay on remarquera la différence. Ce qui, dans le projet de M. Thouvenel, avait la forme d'une sommation devenait, sous la plume de l'Empereur, une humble et anodine prière.'

The great Italian minister was not, of course, likely to be turned from his purpose by the prayers of his old ally. He saw plainly that, in the interests of Piedmont, the time for action had come, and that the irresolute attitude of the Emperor made it important to act quickly. The frontier was crossed; the battle of Castelfidardo was fought; Lamoricière was defeated; and the Pope, notwithstanding the presence of a French army in Rome, found himself stripped of his richest provinces.

The consequences in France were disastrous to the Emperor. As M. de Persigny said—

'En laissant s'accomplir cet acte funeste . . . l'Empereur jetait sa politique dans des complications inextricables. Aux yeux de toute l'Europe son gouvernement était frappé de discrédit. Il avait voulu empêcher l'unité de l'Italie, et l'unité de l'Italie s'accomplissait. Il avait voulu protéger le Saint-Siège, et le Saint-Siège perdait ses plus riches provinces. . . . Faiblesse ou mauvaise foi, telle était la seule explication de l'attitude du gouvernement français.'

In the French Chamber, where the Emperor had just consented to allow the introduction of reporters, a Deputy used still stronger language.

'La France a changé sa politique; la France a reculé non devant le

petit Piémont, non devant l'Angleterre . . . la révolution incarnée dans Orsini, voilà ce qui a fait reculer la France.'

More significant still, the speech was followed by a division in which the Government only succeeded in defeating its usual supporters by 126 votes to 91.

It was not, however, only in France that the Emperor suffered. This country had been the warm ally of the Empire. Nothing had done more to confirm Napoleon's position than the English alliance. But England saw with alarm the power which Napoleon had exerted on the plains of Lombardy. She regarded with dislike and disapproval the rectification of the southern boundaries of France by the annexation of Savoy and Nice. Public men in England thenceforward never lost their distrust of the Emperor, while the nation generally showed their opinion of him by originating that great volunteer movement which still endures.

There was, however, one other quarter of Europe where the policy or indecision of the Emperor was to produce more serious consequences. The union of Italy naturally imparted fresh strength to that desire of nations to combine which has so profoundly influenced the politics of the century; and in Central Europe a more powerful race than the Italians were longing for union. The defeat of Austria gave Prussia her opportunity. 'La Prusse, charmée des 'défaites autrichiennes, mais inquiète des victoires françaises, 'flottait entre sa jalousie satisfaite et sa peur qui commençait 'd'éveiller.' Napoleon, moreover, had not only placed Prussia at the head of Germany by defeating her rival at Solferino; he had put a strong weapon in her hands by signing the treaty of Villafranca. For Italy could never rest satisfied while Venetia remained Austrian; and Prussia, therefore, whenever she chose to pick a quarrel with Austria, could safely rely on Italian help, and reckon on placing her enemy between two fires. Singularly enough, too, Napoleon was to find in Prussia a statesman as resolute and as uncompromising as Cavour himself. Cavour had moulded the Emperor's policy as the potter moulds the clay. Bismarck was to crush him with a grasp of iron.

Twice, indeed, in the ten years of power which were still left to him Napoleon had the opportunity of arresting the growing power of Germany. In 1864, in conjunction with England, he might have stopped the invasion of Denmark; but, with unusual directness, he told Lord Clarendon that if he went to war he must strive for other objects—the

freedom of Venice, the acquisition of the Rhenish provinces —and the Government of this country, in consequence, refused to embark on a struggle which must have involved a continent in bloodshed. Two years later, if M. de Persigny may be trusted, the Emperor had the chance of stopping the union of Germany; for Austria, threatened with war by Prussia, made overtures which, if they had been accepted, must have altered European history. In M. de Persigny's words—

'Voici quelle était cette proposition: l'Autriche consentait à céder la Vénétie à l'Italie à deux conditions: la première, que la France et l'Italie resteraient neutres dans le conflit entre l'Autriche et la Prusse; la seconde, que, si l'Autriche sortait victorieuse de la lutte, elle s'indemniserait par la Silésie de la perte de Vénétie, sans prétendre à rien de plus; enfin M. de Metternich ajoutait que, quant aux provinces du Rhin, il n'appartenait pas à l'Autriche de disposer d'un territoire allemand en faveur de la France; mais que, comme c'était surtout une question à vider entre la France et la Prusse, si d'une manière ou d'une autre ce territoire venait à tomber dans nos mains, l'Autriche n'y ferait aucune opposition.'

But the Emperor, bound by a secret understanding with Italy, and Italy, bound by her engagements with Prussia, felt unable to accept this offer. The war began, and the supremacy of Prussia in Germany was assured.

After Sadowa war between France and Prussia became, sooner or later, inevitable. The French could not permanently endure the consolidation of a first-rate military Power on their Rhenish frontier; the Germans could not patiently tolerate the heavy burden of a period of prolonged preparation for the struggle. It required, therefore, no perspicacity to foresee that war would, in all probability, occur; and, as Sir C. Dilke has recently pointed out, the chances were, if war ensued, that it would take place in the course of 1870. For Prussia had the disposal of the North German armies up to the spring of 1871, and if the great statesman who controlled her destinies desired to strike a decisive blow it was reasonable to suppose that he would deliver it while the whole strength of Germany was at his disposal. Napoleon had these facts before him. Though he was as ignorant as our own statesmen of the organisation and strength of the German armies, though he was partially blind to the disorganisation and defects of his own forces, he must have known that the struggle, if it took place, would be severe, and that it was necessary to take decisive measures to provide for it. The light which General

Lebrun throws both on what the Emperor did and what he failed to do, at this time, with this object, imparts peculiar interest to his 'Souvenirs Militaires.'

It seems clear, from General Lebrun's account, that, in 1866, the French army was defective both in men and material. Nominally consisting of 600,000 men, the Crimea and Italy had both proved that it could not spare more than 150,000 troops for a foreign expedition. In 1866, moreover, it had been further enfeebled by losses in Mexico, and by M. Fould's unseasonable retrenchments. Aware of these facts, immediately after the Prusso-Austrian War, the Emperor appointed a commission to consider whether the army should be permanently increased. The military members of the commission were strongly of opinion that large additions should at once be made to it. The ministers who served on it, however, declared that their political position would be untenable if they were compelled to ask for more men and more money from the Legislature. The Emperor, hesitating between these conflicting opinions, endeavoured to compromise the matter by supplementing the regular army with a Garde Mobile, to be employed only in France, and to defend the frontiers and garrison the fortresses in time of war. But even this expedient was not carried out; the ministers objected to ask the Legislature for the necessary funds: and the army—while the nation was drifting towards war—was suffered to remain weak.

Arms, moreover, were as defective as men. The French artillery was markedly inferior to the artillery of other nations. French officers, specially selected to inquire into the matter, were amazed and alarmed at the superior practice of Belgian cannon. The French rifle was still more plainly inferior to the Prussian needle gun, whose power had been incontestably proved both in Denmark and at Sadowa. The Emperor's military advisers had, at any rate, done their best to procure a substantial addition to the number of men; but they resisted any improvements in the arms. The needle gun, they declared, would lead to an inconceivable waste of ammunition; superior artillery could be defeated by new tactics; and the French army—whatever its equipment—would always be ready to sustain the honour and the cause of France. The men at the head of the French army—as General Lebrun bitterly complains—closed their eyes to the light, and slumbered in an optimism from which nothing could arouse them.

One expedient, however, was still possible. If France could not be persuaded to raise either the quantity or the

quality of her armaments, she might, at least, obtain additional strength from alliances with other nations. At the beginning of 1870, the Archduke Albert, an officer of distinction and the uncle of the Emperor of Austria, was sent to France: nominally to study the organisation of the French army, but, in reality, to propose a strict alliance between France, Austria, and Italy. The Emperor was so much impressed with the proposal that he consented to send an officer to Vienna, to concert a plan of campaign against Prussia with the Archduke; and in May 1870 General Lebrun, who was entrusted with the mission, discussed with the Archduke an elaborate scheme for the invasion of Prussia by the three Powers, presumably in the spring of 1871. The Archduke based his whole plan on the assumption that France could mobilise her forces so quickly that she could throw a formidable army across the frontier on the fifteenth day after the declaration of war; and that Prussia would take, on the contrary, seven weeks to concentrate her armies. On this hypothesis, he assumed that the French could reach Nuremberg in force before the Prussians were ready to move. The Emperor of Austria, who subsequently had an interview with Lebrun, assured him that if the French, in occupation of Southern Germany, were to proclaim themselves the liberators of German territory, public opinion in Austria would justify him in joining in the war; and the French and Austrian armies might then join hands in Saxony. Some tidings of this scheme, which was laid before Napoleon in the closing days of June, probably reached Count Bismarck's ears, and induced him to make a new move. If war were to come he was determined that it should come at a time of his own choosing, and he accordingly met the projected alliance between France and Austria by encouraging the Hohenzollern candidature for the crown of Spain. France, as he probably foresaw, insisted on the withdrawal of the candidate. But France—as he could hardly have foreseen—was not satisfied with the withdrawal. Though the projected alliance suggested or necessitated a policy of waiting, she had the folly to demand a guarantee for the future which Prussia could not give. Whether the French ministers were deceived on the state of their armaments; whether they were alarmed at visible symptoms of discontent in the army, and thought war essential to secure the permanence of the dynasty—with light hearts and with inadequate preparations they plunged into the struggle which in-

volved the downfall of the Empire and the prostration of their country.* The event proved at once the worthlessness of the Archduke's calculations. Under their irresolute Emperor, the mobilisation of the French forces was protracted over weeks. Under their resolute Minister, the mobilisation of the German armies was accomplished in days. The projected invasion of Germany was turned into an invasion of France; and Austria was deprived of the opportunity, which, in the opinion of her Emperor, would alone have afforded any justification for interference.

We have endeavoured, in what we have written, to select the few passages in the Emperor's career which illustrate at once the story of his rise and of his fall and his capacity or incapacity for government. We have had no space to dwell on the transition from autocratic to constitutional government during the later years of the Empire, on the disasters of the Mexican campaign, and the advantages of the Commercial Treaty with this country. We have made no allusion to the negotiations respecting Luxemburg, or to the infamous proposals for the partition of Belgium which Bismarck published in 1870, and whose publication did so much to deprive the Emperor of English sympathy. We have endeavoured to follow the central thread of the narrative. Greatly as we disapprove of the Emperor's policy, we have tried to do justice to the better points of his character. We are far from regarding him as a bad man. We believe that he honestly desired to do his duty in the great position to which he had risen, and that, frequently as he drifted into plot and crime, his instincts—if he had only possessed the strength to follow them—would have usually guided him into a better course. We cannot, moreover, be wholly insensible either to his relations with this country or to the unparalleled catastrophe of his fall. We feel something like gratitude for the one; we are moved to pity by the other. The spectacle of the Emperor at Sedan, indeed, softens our criticism. In compassion for the physical and

* M. Emile Ollivier, during the last few weeks, has endeavoured to justify the policy, for which he was largely responsible, by citing the projected alliance with Austria and Italy, which General Lebrun has disclosed. 'So certain was the alliance,' he asserts, 'that the plan of campaign, for which the Emperor has been so much blamed, was imposed on us by the German military staff.' But M. Ollivier has omitted to explain why the French Ministry, knowing that the alliance was projected, should have hurried on the war while the negotiation for the alliance was still incomplete.

mental sufferings of the man we almost forget to blame the faults of the ruler.

Yet we must not forget that, from first to last, the story of the Empire is a story of crime, and that the story of the Emperor is the story of a conspirator. Through plot and counterplot he made his way to the throne; through plot and counterplot he moved to the Italian war, which was the commencement of his downfall; through plot and counterplot he drifted into the final struggle which ended at Sedan. His idea of statesmanship was intrigue; like the mole, he burrowed underground. Like the mole, his course was so tortuous, and so concealed, that those who were nearest to him were frequently unable to see whither he was trending.

The tortuous nature of his policy was partly due to his fatal irresolution, his chief disqualification for rule. He drifted from point to point on the flood and ebb of decision and indecision; and, while he hesitated, the helm, at the chief crises of his career, was seized by bolder men. In the earlier years of his power the policy of the sovereign—if M. de Persigny may be believed—was moulded by M. de Persigny. In the middle of his career the Emperor's hands were forced by the resolute policy of Cavour and the atrocious crime of Orsini. At the close of it, while the Emperor was intriguing with Austria or commanding and countermanding the mobilisation of his own troops, Prince Bismarck assumed control of the situation; and the Emperor was as powerless to withstand the great Prussian chancellor as, eleven years before, he had proved powerless to resist the policy of the great Italian minister.

Irresolution is a defect in any ruler; but it is disastrous when the ruler is a man with ambitions to satisfy and ideas to fulfil. That the Emperor was ambitious, everyone will acknowledge. The nephew—as M. de la Gorce puts it—had inherited not merely the name but the ambitions of the uncle. That he was an idealist will be equally admitted. During his years of patient waiting, he clung to the idea or the dream of a second empire; during his years of successful and unsuccessful rule he equally clung to the idea that France, under his rule, should follow the example of the ancient world; and that, as the first Napoleon had achieved, like Julius Cæsar, political and military success, so the third Napoleon should revive the polish and magnificence of the Augustan age.

At one moment of his career the idea was almost realised. The first exhibition in France showed the people of neigh-

bouring nations how much had been done to increase its wealth and beautify its capital. Amidst all the anxieties of a great war, the Emperor—so it seemed—had neglected nothing that could multiply the resources and add to the dignity of his empire. Luxury, wealth, beauty, wit were concentrated in his Court; and the visitor at Paris might almost have repeated the words of the Queen of Sheba, 'Behold the half was not told me: thy wisdom and prosperity 'exceedeth the fame which I heard.'

Yet all this prosperity rested on a hollow basis. The highly civilised community, indeed, which trusts to its ruler for the measures or for the reforms which it should initiate itself, will always be at a disadvantage. It will lose the habits of self-help and relf-reliance, the qualities that make for greatness in all countries and in all ages; and, dependent on the views and ambitions of one man, will cease to have views and ambitions of its own. The ruler, moreover, whatever may be in theory his power, will be unable to carry out what the nation can easily accomplish. Napoleon, at the height of his power, had not sufficient influence to insist on the addition to the strength, and on the improvements in the weapons of his army which he knew were indispensable, and which might have saved—if they had been effected—his dynasty from downfall and his country from disaster. But the proposal, insufficient as it was, provoked an opposition which led to its withdrawal. Contrast this failure with the recent policy of this country where the opinion of the public has forced on two successive governments vast additions to the navy. It is the government of the many, and not the government of one man, that acts strongly and decisively in great crises.

If, as we have said, the story of the Empire is the story of a crime, it is the story also of a misfortune. Amidst the many changes through which France has passed since the Revolution she has experienced nothing so disastrous as the Second Empire. It cost her huge sacrifices both of men and money, and it did not afford her even the scanty consolation of success. But it is, perhaps, possible that the Empire inflicted even worse evils on France than the defeat of her armies and the dismemberment of her territory. It crushed out all that was best and purest in French politics; it substituted, for what it destroyed, a policy of corruption. Perhaps, however, the Second Empire accomplished one good thing. It made—let us hope—a return to Imperial institutions impossible.

ART. II.—1. *Santa Teresa: her Life and Times.* By GABRIELA CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM. 2 vols. London: 1894.

2. *St. John of the Cross: Life of, and Works.* 'The Ascent 'of Mount Carmel,' 'The Dark Night of the Soul,' &c. 2 vols. Translated by DAVID LEWIS, M.A. London: 1889, 1891.

3. *Blessèd Henry Suso: Life of.* Related by Himself. Translated by T. F. KNOX. London: 1865.

4. *XVI Revelations of Juliana of Norwich.* Reprint. 1843.

THERE are certain terms of general classification that seem predestined to breed confusion in criticism and thought; and among these the term of Mysticism might be almost considered one of the most pre-eminently bewildering. Under the head of Mystics we find included indifferently a Sta. Teresa and a St. Francis d'Assisi, a Maeterlinck and a Paul Verlaine. The epithet, indeed, is one of those of which the significance embraces such varying characteristics that no dictionary can keep pace with the subtle developements it is perpetually acquiring. In this case, as in many another, no effort of scientist or philosopher avails to set barriers to the fresh interpretations of ancient formulas. The friction of common use wears away old limits, and the daily language of daily life, hurrying past, confesses its poverty of invention by a constant adaptation of old verbal symbols—begged, borrowed, and stolen from the most unlikely sources—to its own immediate exigencies. Thus it is, as we all know and continually forget, that, while the diction of bygone days survives, senses utterly unfamiliar to the past attach themselves to every part of speech, making, in the matter of meanings, a recurrent game of definitions for the grammarians of each successive generation. The threefold problem of past, present, and future is always confronting us in the vocabulary of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. What did these words mean once to those in whose footprints we tread, whose voices we echo, with all that gulf of dissimilarity a lingering likeness serves to accentuate. What will they mean on the lips of those to come after us, associated with accumulated combinations of memory, recoloured with the atmosphere of unborn years, when the very thoughts of which language is to-day the sign audible will have assumed aspects our fancy swerves in anticipating?

Thus, arrested by the strange riddle of that phase of human life and thought and feeling, presented in the records of those men and women of mediæval Europe to whom by common consent the name of Mystics has been specially accorded, it becomes necessary to circumscribe and restrict the designation. Further, to analyse what general quality is indicated, from this narrowed point of view, by the term recently applied, without discrimination of species, to so many forms of Supernaturalism, to all systems of Symbolism, and to most of the obscurer manifestations of emotional or intellectual Spiritualism. To do this effectually we must in the first place divest Mysticism of some of its attributes and accessories—from the dogmas of special sects, and from the fantastic extravagancies of special schools—with which it has been intimately connected.

That the Catholic Mystic of the West has been inseverably allied with the miracle-worker and vision-seer is undeniable. That he and his Protestant brethren, both in the portraitures of life and of fiction, are often and justly identified with the crude idea of Supernaturalism—with, that is, the idea of preternatural and extraneous powers working by personal or material agencies—is equally apparent. Yet, if supernaturalism be regarded as the continent, mysticism holds within that continent a fortressed rainbow country of its own. Even more, it is alleged by certain initiates that the creed of the supernaturalist is hardly consonant with that of the genuine mystic viewed in the light of later interpreters. And there is an under-stratum of truth in this apparent paradox, for to the mystic, although in outward substance and form his miracle or vision might be the very same as the miracle or vision of the mere supernaturalist, the cause would claim another origin. By the writers of earlier ages a clear difference was recognised between one vision and another. The external or 'bodily showing,' of which they speak, and which may be classed as the supernatural vision, was not confounded with the 'ghostly seeing' of the understanding, albeit the same person might at one and the same time possess both faculties of vision. 'All this was showed by three parts,' a fourteenth-century seer says, 'by bodily sight, by words 'formed in my understanding, and by ghostly sight.' And Serenus de Cressy, the de Cressy of whom the author of 'John Inglesant' has drawn a winning if not an historical portrait in the romance to which he owes his literary reputation—writes, that those visions 'which were more

'pure, *intime*, and withal more certayne, were wrought by a 'divine illapse into the spiritual [as distinguished from the 'sensual] part of the soul.' These latter constitute, strictly, the visions of mysticism.

Indeed, this pervading idea of under-currents of life, of lives within lives, forms an elementary characteristic of the mystic's creed. What to the supernaturalist proper lies without to him lies within, and while, broadly speaking, the tendency of the supernaturalist has generally been to materialise spirit, that of the mystic has always, however unconsciously, led him to spiritualise the animal creation and to vitalise matter. Sir James Stephen, writing in this journal of St. Francis d'Assisi, makes the assertion that 'each living 'thing was a brother or sister to him in a sense which almost 'ceased to be figurative. To all inanimate beings he ascribed 'a personality and a sentient nature in something more than 'a sport of fancy;' and Mrs. Graham, in her introduction to the Life of Sta. Teresa, notes the *naïf* sympathy with nature and animal life, the community of obedience and worship, with birds, beasts, and plants, belonging to what may be called the mystic period of Sta. Teresa's order. Thus it was no fantastic childishness that impelled St. Francis to preach to *mie sirocchie*, the birds, or to undertake the conversion of such four-footed felons as the *ferocissimo lupo d' Agobio*. These legends, and they are many, embody a deep-sighted recognition of the multitudinous souls of creation, and as such are but a rational invocation to the life-created to laud and serve the life-creator, as to this day the churches sing 'Benedicite, omnia opera Domini' Later exponents of the mystic's faith have betrayed a kindred sentiment. Nature, animal and vegetable, matter itself in its most inert substances, is to the mystic so replete with dormant energies that theoretically there is little scope left for exterior interpositions. Earth, if we may so express the position, can perform her own miracles—in fact, is always performing them. Such phrases as that employed by Novalis, in whom Moravian traditions lingered, when he says that the plants are language to the earth's thoughts, are no empty figures of speech. Life—the faith has been summarised—slept in the stones, dreamt in the plants, and wakened in man.

'That this creed is capable of being converted into an 'irreligious pantheism I well know,' Coleridge acknowledges, referring to Tauler, the fourteenth-century Dominican, to Jacob Böhme, the Lutheran theosophist of the sixteenth, and to other teachers of German mysticism. But he con-

fesses that their writings at once served to prevent his mind becoming imprisoned by any single dogmatic system, and kept alive, to use his graphic expression, 'the heart in the 'head.' During his wanderings in the wilderness of doubt, he adds emphatically, if they were a moving cloud of smoke by day they were always a pillar of fire by night, and by their aid he 'skirted without crossing the sandy desert of 'unbelief.'

Whatever, nevertheless, might be the intellectual doctrines of mysticism to whose instrumentality Coleridge owed redemption, it must be borne in mind that in practice and action, in countries, times, and minds where primitive supernaturalism was a dominant habit of thought, each was commonly co-existent, if not co-extensive, with the other, and that both found similar manifestations in inspired revelations and divine visions, whether the seer were a German ascetic, a heretic cobbler, or a Spanish ecstatic.

Nor is the admixture of mysticism and supernaturalism the only element of confusion in the definition of the former. At every page it is the inevitable fate of the mystic to employ the phraseology of symbolism. There is a recurrent point where the imagery by which he intends to convey the conception of an actuality is fused with the language by which he intends to convey the conception of an allegorical figure (*Wahrzeichen*). A determinate boundary line exists, as Novalis points out, to the mental capacities of definite conception, beyond which representation cannot retain strength or form. There the utterance of the mystic becomes perforce that of the symbolist. Thus the stanzas of Fray Juan de la Cruz—a puritan among transcendentalists—are written in the language of pure similitudes. He paraphrases the apostrophes of the Song of Solomon, of Spanish serenades, of pastoral verses with equal boldness.

> 'Where hast thou hidden Thyself
> And abandoned me in my groaning, O my Beloved?
> Thou hast fled like the hart,
> Having wounded me;
> I ran after thee crying; but thou wert gone,'

are the words the saint of asceticism places in the mouth of the soul. And in another poem, when the soul sets out on her pursuit of perfection, he thus describes the search:—

> 'In a dark night,
> With anxious love inflamed,
> O, happy lot!

Forth unobserved I went,
My house being now at rest
In darkness and in safety,
By the secret ladder, disguised.
O, happy lot!
In darkness and concealment
My house being now at rest.'

Or, mimicking the accents of pastoral verse:—

'A shepherd is alone and in pain,
Deprived of all pleasure and joy,
His thoughts on his shepherdess intent,
And his heart by love cruelly torn.'

In such allegories San Juan strives, as he himself explains, to convey those meanings to the mind of his readers that common speech could not convey. On the other hand, when Henry Suso sees the Eternal Wisdom seated beside his soul, 'which, leaning lovingly towards God's side, and encircled 'by God's arms, lay entranced,' he is evidently attempting to depict what was to him an actuality of spiritual vision. The blending of either method, when the vision of the utterable passes into the vision of the unutterable, should not, however, be suffered to blur the distinction between the attitude of the pure mystic and that of the pure symbolist. To the mere symbolist the interconnexion of the emblem with that which it allegorises is accidental, temporal, and artificial, but to the believer in the undercurrents of nature's vitalities a symbol must be more than a symbol. It must not only represent as an arbitrary cypher the spiritual object symbolised, it must have some fundamental affinity with it; it must possess some radical correspondence of life with life, permanent, essential, and vital.

Setting, however, aside this aspect of the question, it remains to solve the problem, to detect when and where the written language should be taken to represent a similitude, and when and where it must be accepted as signifying an actuality. To unravel this riddle is the thankless task of the commentators, who, each according to his own creed, adhere to the literal or the metaphorical interpretations of equivocal passages, or again explain both away.

'In their simplicity of soul'—Coleridge here is paraphrasing Schelling—'the mystics made their words the immediate echoes of their feelings. . . . Under the excitement of grasping new and vital truths the uneducated man of genius may easily mistake the tumultuous sensations of nerve, the spectres of fancy, as parts or symbols of the truths opening upon him.'

Nor to those who are careful to inquire is such a line of apology without plausibility, though San Juan de la Cruz—than whom was no more competent judge—offers a sterner solution. 'Their mind and sense and feelings [of aspirants 'yet imperfect in the path of God] are full of fancies, 'whereby they very often see imaginary and spiritual visions '. . . wherein the devil and their own proper fancy most 'frequently delude the soul.' His sentence was doubtless as well merited as it was uncompromising.

Yet when every vision, every sensation, has been sifted, every inspiration analysed, when the mystic's position has been accurately formulated, and his claims confuted or allowed, we, of the laity, may chance to feel that in matters of mysticism the critic labours but in vain. He may reduce it to a system, the 'science absolument exacte,' of M. Huysmans's * biographical fiction; he can supply modern synonyms of obsolete terms, and elucidate the social or historical surroundings of bygone thought; he can define its species—theopathetic, theosophic or theurgic, transitive or intransitive. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, we are inclined to repudiate our obligations to the pen of the expositor, nay more, some amongst us might be well-nigh tempted to believe that we could have understood the text had it not been for the commentary!

The truth of the matter is that mysticism is rather an atmosphere than a system, if we except that anomalous school of scholastic mysticism represented in the twelfth century by Hugo de St. Victor, in the thirteenth by Bonaventura (one of whose works was translated into English verse as early as the year 1330), and by which, no doubt, San Juan de la Cruz was strongly influenced. But apart from this school, and considering mysticism from a personal point of view, it plainly belongs to that evasive part of a man's individuality that we confusedly call temperament, rather than to that more definite and self-determinative fraction we name character. Its very essence is undefinableness; it demands not an explanation but an interpretation.

Such interpretation is to be found, if anywhere, in the qualities distinguishing the Catholic mystics of earlier ages, by the study of their lives and of such writings as they themselves have bequeathed to us. Nor are these few in number or inconsiderable in bulk. In the sixteenth century Fray Juan de la Cruz, the great master of contemplation, as

* *En Route*, Huysmans, 1895. Paris.

well as Sta. Teresa de Jesus herself, left works adequately representative of the mystical asceticism of their day. Behind is a multitudinous company of volumes:—St. Bridget* of Sweden filled many in the fourteenth century; St. Mechtild† (the saint whom German criticism has striven to identify with that Matilda of Dante's who gathering flowers by the clear stream has bewildered the commentators of the 'Divine Comedy') wrote five books of spiritual grace; the Visions of B. Angela‡ of Foligno, taken down by her confessor, also belong to the fourteenth century. Henry Suso was author of the 'Book of the Ever-'lasting Wisdom,' as well as the author—or relater—of his 'Life.' St. Catherine§ of Siena dictated her 'Ecstatic 'Dialogue.' Juliana of Norwich, to cite those only whose works modern Catholicism has attempted to popularise, became likewise, though in different guise, what the gentle monk Blosius denominates 'a secretary of God.' It is a literature full of monotonous repetitions, of raptures that by force of reiteration become the very platitudes of emotion; but full also of a fantastic human interest, of a distinctive beauty of colouring, of a shadowy delicacy of perception, and moreover it possesses not seldom 'a miracle and passion' of thought that not even the barbarisms of language or the vapidity of modern translation can nullify.

Of the 'undaunted Daughter of Desires' commemorated by the poet Crashaw in stanzas of transcendent enthusiasm, Santa Teresa de Jesus, Mrs. Graham has given what may practically be regarded as an exhaustive account. From the first, the story of her personal life is crowded with picturesque incident, and its picturesqueness has lost nothing at the hands of her recent biographer, whose intimate knowledge of the time and country of which she writes lends a graphic vividness to her portrayal of the persons, scenes, and surroundings of that old Spanish world.

'On Wednesday, Day of San Bertoldi of the Order of 'Carmelites, on the 29th day of March, 1515, at five in the 'morning,' so runs the brief entry found after her death in Teresa's breviary, 'was born Teresa de Jesus, the sinner.' Daughter of an illustrious race, Teresa spent her childhood

* Revelations of St. Bridget (translated). London, 1874.

† Select Revelations of St. Mechtild (translated). London, 1875.

‡ Visions and Instructions of B. Angela of Foligno (translated). London, 1871.

§ Dialogue of St. Catherine of Siena (translated). London, 1896.

in the city of Avila. The arms of dead soldiers of her blood carved on tombs, blazoned over gateways and arches, on church pillars and in stained windows, confronted her at every turn with memories of their past achievements and of the unforgotten traditions of their fame, as she grew up in the town set amid the wild sierras of Central Spain, where the sombre dignity of mediæval Gothic stonework was mingled with the grace of Moorish arabesque. At six years old she too is inspired with dreams of glory; she

> 'Thinks it shame
> Life should so long play with that breath
> Which spent can buy so brave a death.'

Taking with her a like-minded child-brother, Teresa sets out for the land of the Moors, 'that so,' she tells the episode in the 'life' written by herself, 'we might be 'beheaded there.' The child's play of martyrdom frustrated, it was succeeded by games of make-believe hermitages built in her garden, where spiritual books are spelt over, and the refrain of eternity, 'for ever, for ever, for ever,' is continually upon the lips of the two baby playmates. Thus, as in most such lives of the saints of Catholic mediævalism, the gospels of holy childhoods, embroidered with many a fable and legend, are handed down to us by their grave chroniclers, possessing, like the spurious gospels of Christ's infancy, a charm that sets sober truth at defiance. Teresa's first childhood over, the page is varied with new imaginations. Chivalrous romances supersede spiritual studies; for rosaries and crucifix and hermitage come gay dresses and vain companionships; dreams of the world evict the dreams of immortality. But the terror of hell overtakes her renegade heart; the stern doom of sanctity has fallen upon Teresa. It was no light doom in those days, and to fulfil its obligations she must seek the rule of the cloister. The call to the religious life comes, and she obeys, but 'the sharpness of 'sense I felt on going out of my father's house was so 'extreme, that I believe it will not be greater in the agony 'of death,' she writes.

Nor, for the moment, did it seem as if the experience of that second agony would be long delayed. Maladies, the revenge, it might seem, that the soul wreaks upon the body when spirit victorious tramples the vanquished senses underfoot, take deadly hold upon the delicately nurtured frame of the girl-nun; she suffers all the tortures—racked nerves, crippled limbs, and that intense sadness which disjoints the

mind and reason—that physical pain can inflict upon its victims. Yet Teresa is of the fibre that dies hard; neither the sickness nor the remedies avail wholly to kill her; and as the seasons pass by in the Convent of the Encarnacion—where twenty-five years of her life were to be spent—her health in some measure comes back, and it is her soul that suffers a relapse. In that lax social atmosphere of the unreformed convent locutorio, the ring of the swords and spurs of gay cavaliers mingles with the jingle of the nuns' rosaries, secular guests come and go, and Teresa, beautiful of feature, young and keen-witted, trusted by her superiors with honourable freedom, forms friendships with the world which her conscience proclaims to be enmities with God. Again conscience prevails; these vain preoccupations are abandoned. God allows no rivalry of loves, and Teresa must be not only a saint but an ascetic. A new and second birth of her soul lands her, as it were, with feet upon a new shore; she enters a region whose boundaries she had before but faintly descried. Raptures and ecstasies, visions and illuminations succeed one to another, and the converse of angels replaces the lost comradeship of friends. 'I knew 'not,' she says, 'that it was possible for one to see anyone 'but with the eyes of the body;' but henceforth her inner eyes are open. What relation these mystic annals of Teresa's girlhood and earlier womanhood, whether written by herself or by her priest-biographers, bear to reality, it is difficult to divine. Their aim in writing does not correspond to our aim in reading, and where they are endeavouring to inscribe the life of a saint we are attempting to decipher the character of a girl. Mrs. Graham has fully appreciated, and to a great extent surmounted, the difficulty in her effort to reconcile the two—the life of the woman with keen imaginations thwarted, with vehement affections detached and human instincts broken from their earthly anchorage, and the life of the spiritual politician whose invulnerable courage and pure intention endowed her with power to revolutionise the lives of men and women, monks, nuns, courtiers, sinners, and saints who fell under her sway. From the period lying between her forty-first and forty-third years, Teresa's record as a simple religious becomes obliterated in the events of her active career of some twenty-six years; her *vie intime* of the soul becomes subordinate to the claims of practical life as the design of restoring the rule of her Order to its primitive rigour rises and developes in her mind. Toil, anxiety, fame and offence, honour and strife are henceforth hers, until on

the evening of an October day, in the year 1582 (the nun who had charge of the convent infirmary tells the story):—

'Sitting at a low window of the room where Teresa lay, she [the narrator] heard a confused kind of noise . . . and soon after saw a great number of persons all in white and glittering with wonderful splendour, who, passing through the monastery . . . came near to the bed where the blessed mother lay; immediately she surrendered her soul to God.'

The well-known events of her life as one of the great monastic reformers are public property, and she takes her valiant place among the St. Francises, the St. Dominics, the Loyolas of the past ages, claiming the praise and dispraise, the love or enmity of men. It is needless here to review the familiar chronicle of Teresa's successes and failures, her triumphs and defeats in that vivid world of Philip II.'s reign—a world of chivalry and enterprise and crime—of the Holy Inquisition and of the massacres of Peru. It is with Teresa in her character, or the character ascribed to her, as a mystic; with that chapter of her personal experiences (limited, we are informed, to her first years of convent life, and to ten years of her later career), and with those pages of her writings that record and analyse those experiences, that we are concerned. As a mystic Teresa will probably live in the classification of the Church. Yet we are compelled to admit the truth of her latest biographer's repeated assertions—the Seraphic Doctor of Castile was not essentially or typically a mystic. Mysticism with her lacked somewhat, although it is difficult to define what it is that is absent. The vision of the mystic is there, but the eyes that see it are not the mystic's eyes, and, rapturous as may be the ecstasy of joy or suffering, we are still constrained to feel that it is not Teresa who is absorbed by the vision, but the vision that is absorbed by Teresa. Mysticism with her is rather an episode than a temperament. It is not the single-hearted, the single-aimed life of narrower or more passive natures, nor can we help being dimly aware that the brain was ever in some degree a spectator in that spiritual theatre where, by mystic rule, the soul alone might enter.

It is possible that outward circumstance had more than a little influence in determining the quality of her ecstasies. The story of Teresa's miraculous communications with the unseen is a singular commentary on the popular belief that the visionary was at all costs and times a growth stimulated and encouraged by authoritative Catholicism, a belief at

which Vaughan,* or his Nonconformist conscience, connives. For a long season—the dates are indefinite—Teresa's visions were made the subject of incredulous scrutiny. Discountenanced alike by her most intimate friends and by her spiritual advisers, she was held at the bar of judgement. At that time, the period of her divine revelations, it would have taken but a hair's weight more of suspicion and the Inquisition would in all probability have claimed her for its prey, for the Church of that day was fully prepared to endorse the modern dictum that if the mystic of the East is always a slave, the mystic of the West is usually a rebel. Teresa's mind was tortured by the contagion of doubt and disparagement; while indomitably sincere to her perilous faith in herself, that faith became the faith of the accused, it lost its spontaneity, its freedom, and its simplicity. In the necessities of self-defence it became guarded, analytical and controversial; nor when adversaries were silenced and opponents convinced, is she left wholly victor of the field. Her own mind has played traitor and in part gone over to the enemy, nor to the very end are these doubts, ambushed in her own keen intelligence, cancelled. 'That she 'was never entirely satisfied as to whether she was not deceiving herself is evident to anyone who has read her "Life" 'with an unbiassed mind. Her doubts as to whether these 'things were of divine or diabolical origin tormented her in 'life and were only stilled as she was nearing the grave,' says her biographer, and, though possibly the statement is exaggerated, it seems on the whole just. As a hero, as a soldier, as even a humourist, her brilliant figure stands out, with beauty of body and beauty of soul, among the kings and courtiers, the saints and the sinners of her time.

> 'By all thy dow'r of lights and fires,
> By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
> By all thy lives and deaths of love,
> By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
> And by thy thirsts of love more large than they.'

By all these things Teresa will be remembered when her mysticism is forgotten and out of mind. Teresa's own words, spoken on death's threshold, prefigure the years to come with partial accuracy. 'This "Saint," ' she said, and aged, tired, and sick, her voice has its old ring of laughter, 'will be no longer wanted.' Of Teresa, as a mystic, the

* Hours with the Mystics.

world truly, for loss or gain, has no need; and the world's memory knows what it wants, and for what it does not want it has a convenient trick of oblivion.

If the practical uses of mysticism may be traced in the records of Teresa's career, the scholarship, the intellectuality, the poetry of mysticism, found in the sensitive austerity of the humblest of saints, Teresa's greatest disciple, San Juan de la Cruz, its most passionate exponent. The Galahad of Monks, he celebrates the divine union of love in a hymn of almost unparalleled temerity in its adaptation of the language of human passion to the expression of the mysteries of the soul. Reading, we are not surprised to learn that the sordid persecutions, the bodily tortures inflicted upon him by unworthy brethren, imprisonments, scourgings, and disgrace, left his spirit serenely untroubled. Thrice only, amongst all the storms of his life, was he accused that he had sinned by discomposure. Once his humility rebelled against a painter who had painted him by stealth; once, again, when a careless speaker had seemed to liken the poverty-loving Carmelite to the great Bridegroom of Poverty - St. Francis. The third occasion is unchronicled. The most compassionate of ascetics, it was said of him that his body 'was the only 'creature of God to which he showed no mercy.' Of all mystics, he represents perhaps most completely the extreme phase of the emancipation of the spirit from every bond — more, from every faculty—of human nature. His is the mysticism of mysticism; the idea itself becomes but a symbol, the most abstract thought less than a metaphor, in relation to what lies behind it. Forms, figures, and natural apprehensions are but hindrances; in the 'dark 'night' of the lonely soul (the phrase is old as mysticism itself) can the spirit alone attain illumination and achieve its brideship with the divine Bridegroom. It is the mysticism of the supreme surrender of self, with its supreme compensation—the 'having nothing, and yet possessing all 'things.'

But from the lives and works of the Teresas and San Juans, the leaders and marshals of the host, we turn instinctively to those less-known, less-remembered figures, who shared the conditions of that enigmatical spiritual life without participating in its renown. Contradictory as it may seem, the fame of the individual is apt to obscure, if not to pervert, our conceptions in the study of a type. The criticism of history has touched and retouched the outline of

the features, partisan prejudice has alternately defaced and restored the original, shifting traditions have tinted and retinted its primary colours, and, perhaps, more than all those accidents of celebrity, we are dimly, but penetratingly, conscious, as we look on the portrait exhibited, of the eyes of the thousands who have gazed on it before, who gaze on it now; and in the sense of those thronging beholders we lose possession of that hermitage of thought in which surely the mind should dwell if it would appreciate the spirit of that mysticism whose birthplace was solitude, the profoundest solitude of all solitudes, the innermost cloister of the soul.

Therefore it is that, from the study of such books as Suso's 'Life' and Juliana's 'Revelations' we seem to glean a sharper, because a more single, impression—an impression akin to a sensation—of the atmosphere and temperament (apart from the doctrines and systems) of the mystic's life. Suso himself occupies a midway station between the two great phases of mysticism: that of the annihilation of human nature and that of its spiritualisation. The outline of his external record is commonplace enough. Heinrich von Berg, known to the world by his mother's name Suess, Latinised Suso, to himself as Amandus (which name was revealed of God), was born at Ueberlingen, in the first year of the fourteenth century. The whole desire of his mother, we learn incidentally, was to live a spiritual life; but her husband was full of the world. Through this diversity she—possibly his father also—had much to suffer. At thirteen Heinrich entered a Dominican monastery, at eighteen he was 'perfectly converted to God;' he became, finally, after enduring much suffering at the hands of his brethren in religion, Prior of one of the communities of his order, and died at Ulm at the age of sixty-five. His 'Life' was taken down from his own relation by one of his spiritual daughters, and added to in later years by his own hand, curiously enough, in the name of the nun (Elizabeth Staglin) by whom the earlier portions had been inscribed.

His story lies in a sombre historic framework. A devotional world, mad with terror under the lash of plague and pestilence, was offering its holocausts of victims to superstitions which were the sacrilege of faith. A panic-stricken impulse to penitence had clothed itself in the grotesque masquerade of contrition—the rites of the Flagellants. Condemned by the more sober authorities of Church and State, they formed a vagrant pilgrim brotherhood, recruited from every

sex and class. They passed from town to town, a dark train, blazoned with the red cross symbolic of propitiatory suffering, lacerating themselves on the highways, in the streets and market-places with the iron-pointed scourge—the badge and instrument of their confraternity—offering to the eyes of fanatic mobs the spectacle of their self-inflicted tortures. The 'Geisslerlied,' the song of bloodshedding, rang through the lands they traversed.

> 'Sinner, canst thou to Me atone,
> Three pointed nails, a thorny crown,
> The Holy Cross, a spear, a wound?'

Miracles and crimes followed in their wake, the massacre of thousands of Jews testified to the savage fierceness of this moral plague. Amongst the Christians the thirst for slaughter spread like a fever, while amongst the victims a thirst for martyrdom outrivalled the lust for blood. Meanwhile the undevotional world was peopled with apparitions, with phantasms of witchcraft and magic, and dominated by the shadowy imaginations of astrologers, soothsayers, and alchemists. In Suso's narrative the spirit of this century is pictured with a vividness and reality Froissart himself, his contemporary, does not surpass. Miracles occur—the miracles of a period when men found belief in miracles more easy of credence than belief in imposture, when every facility of deception existed in a life full of illusions, when the saint was as often the dupe of his disciples as the disciples of the saint, and common incidents and trivial accidents were seen and interpreted by those to whom the agency of the supernatural was a familiar key to all enigmatical phenomena. We follow Suso through scenes of peril and adventure told with the disjointed directness of a child's narrative, and more than once the incidents of the story recall the wanderings of Charles Reade's poor hero, the pious but timorous monk Gerard, of 'The Cloister and the Hearth.'

One such episode, for sake of its quaint picturesqueness and unconsciously grim humour, is worthy to be cited at length, all the more as in it we seem to see embodied in flesh and blood the outward character of the man whose inner record lies upon so different a plane:

> 'Once upon a time, when the Servitor [Suso] was returning from the Netherlands, his road lay up the Rhine. He had with him a companion who was young and a good walker. Now, it happened one day he could not keep up with his swift companion, for he had

become very tired and ill, and in consequence the companion had gone ahead of him. The Servitor looked back to see if anyone was following in whose company he might go through the forest, at the skirts of which he had arrived, for it was late in the day. The forest, moreover, was of ill repute, for many persons had been murdered in it. The Servitor therefore waited to see if anyone was coming.

'At length two persons approached at a very rapid pace, the one a young and pretty woman, the other a tall ferocious-looking man, carrying a spear and a long knife. The Servitor was struck with dread at the terrible appearance of the man. . . . He thought within himself, "O, Lord! what kind of people are these! How am I to go through this great forest, and how will it fare with me?" Then he made the sign of the cross over his heart and ventured it. When they were already deep in the forest, the woman came to him and asked him who he was. As soon as he had told she said, "Dear sir, I know you well by name. I pray you hear my confession. . . . Alas, worthy sir, it is with sorrow I tell you my sad lot. Do you see the man who follows us? He is by trade a murderer, and he murders people here in this wood. He never spares anyone. He has deceived me and carried me off, and I am forced to be his wife."

'The Servitor was so terrified by these words that he nearly fainted, and he cast a very sorrowful look all round if haply there were any mode of escape; but there was no one to be seen or heard in the dark forest except the murderer. Then he thought within himself, "If, weary as thou art, thou triest to flee, he will soon overtake and kill thee; if thou criest out, no one will hear, and death again will be thy lot." He looked upwards very wofully, and said, "O, my God! what is to become of me? O, death, how nigh thou art!"

'When the woman had finished confessing, she went back to the murderer and besought him privily, saying, "Come now, dear friend, go forward and make thy confession also; for it is a pious belief that whoever confesses to him will never be abandoned by God. . . ."

'While the two thus whispered to each other the Servitor's terror knew no bounds, and the thought came to him, "Thou art betrayed." Now, when the poor Servitor saw the murderer advancing, his whole frame quivered with dread, and he thought, "Now thou art lost." At this point the Rhine ran close to the wood and the narrow path lay along the bank. Moreover, the Brother was forced to walk on the side next the water. As the Servitor went along in this manner, the murderer began to confess all the murders and crimes he had ever committed. Especially he spoke of a horrible murder he described thus: "I came once into this wood, as I have done to-day, and meeting a venerable priest I confessed to him while he was walking beside me at this very spot, and when the confession was over I ran him through with this knife, and thrust him over the bank into the river." These words, and the gestures which accompanied them, made the Servitor turn pale, the cold sweat of death ran down his face; he kept looking every moment that the same knife would be thrust into him, and that he would be pushed over into the river. . . . The murderer's damsel caught sight of his woe-stricken face, and

running up said, "Good sir, be not afraid; he will not kill you." The murderer added, "Much good has been told me concerning you, and I will let you live; beg God to help and favour me, a poor criminal, at my last hour, for your sake."'

So the story is told, and strange above all its incongruities of realism is the fact that this frightened monk, whose fear of death is confessed with such perfect simplicity, is the same who narrates with equal simplicity the details of his self-inflicted tortures of twenty-two years of perpetual penance! Their very recital sickens the imagination as he tells how, with ingenious device, he made each hour an unrelenting martyrdom, until macerated and enfeebled, when nothing remained except to die, God bade him leave this 'lower school of detachment' and live to endure the sharper pains of soul and heart in store for him. 'Hitherto thou 'hast struck thyself, now I will strike thee,' is the relentless sentence of the Divine decree, recognising the incompetence of man's self-immolation to exact the last farthing of the sacrifice. And God, who has hitherto spoilt him as a child with consolations, will now let him wither and starve. Is it not, Suso questions with undeviating faith, by ancient right that love and suffering go together? Love's martyrs in God's calendar, no less than in the annals of mankind, 'must be ever, ever dying.'

It is impossible to ignore the fact, from whatsoever point of view we regard the mystic's visions—whether as the morbid phantasms of hysteria, or as the miraculous manifestations of Divine grace, or as the rising to the surface of that inner life of whose existence the senses are normally unconscious—that to the elder mystic they were bought with a price, with the abnegation of all earth's treasures and the purchase money of the body's utmost anguish. Born before the day of cheap merchandise, his traffic was in truth and literally a dear bargain of hunger and thirst, of tears and blood. If the prize he sought was an illusion, the cost was, at least, the very reality of all that makes life, to most of us, endurable.

Thus Suso bought those radiant hours he chronicles with such candid spontaneity that his faith—or his credulity—infects our imagination, if not our reason. For a moment we seem to look through an open door into that far-off land of the mystic, where, in the matter of religion, there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, east nor west, Greek nor Barbarian. From the grated window of the Dominican's cell we catch a glimpse of the flowers of

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another country, the sunsets of another sky, or, if we perhaps fail to see the vision, we still see the eyes that saw it, those cloistered eyes to whose boundless outlook the narrow walls of his spiritual prison could set no horizon. One by one the visions rise. In the solitary chapel, where he keeps painful vigil until the watchman's horn announces the day-break, as the morning star ascends, voices sound with exceeding sweetness singing 'Arise and be illuminated, O 'Jerusalem.' Bright princes of heaven bid him look into himself and see how God plays His play of love with his soul, heavenly musicians lead dances 'swelling up and falling 'back into the wild abyss of God's hiddenness.' Then come stages where visions and contemplations fuse, nor is it easy to detect if the narrative deals with what Suso regarded as an outward image, present to his sight, or an inward image, present only to his understanding. Making of material life but an allegory of the immaterial, or—in the sceptic's prose—making the reality into a dream that the dream may become a reality, he transmutes the customs of earth into the rites of the soul:

'Thus he kept carnival, and thus on New Year's night, when young men in their folly go out to make their sweethearts give them garlands, he, too, would go to his eternal love and beg of Him a wreath. So, too, on May Day eve he would set up a spiritual May-tree, saying, "Hail, heavenly may bough of the eternal wisdom! I offer thee to-day, in place of red roses, a heart-felt love; for every little violet, a lowly inclination; for all lilies, a pure embrace; for all flowers of heath or down, forest or plain, tree or meadow, a spiritual kiss; for all songs of little birds on any May Day flight, praises without end."'

Was it any marvel that in such blendings of earth and heaven the boy monk whose childhood had ever greeted the sweet maid, God's mother, with spring's first rose, should see on his two hands and covering his feet, in the weariness of later years, the red roses and green leaves of celestial betokenings? Indeed, to such a nature as Suso's, a nature which, as somewhat wistfully he confesses, 'could not re-'main without a love,' with unsullied human affections, and a sensitive temperament charged with that keen emotional joy in beauty which to-day makes of a man a poet or a painter, the doctrine of that inner mystical life must have dawned as a gospel of divinest revelation. For there sight might survey loveliness, ears might revel in melodies of unsubstantial sweetness, unblamed; there, too—how pathetically significant is the frequent recurrence of this vision in the ascetic chronicle!—childless manhood and barren

womanhood might hold the childhood of the whole world, epitomised as Mary's Baby, in the arms of the soul. It was to Suso a doctrine sanctifying his humanity, illuminating the barred and sterile twilight of his empty cell, extending the precarious possibilities of time into the secure infinitudes of eternity.

Nor are his writings tainted with the cold egoism of a meaner sanctity. 'God so willing,' are the words of Angela of Foligno, the earlier Tuscan mystic, whose 'Visions and 'Instructions,' taken down by Brother Arnold, her Franciscan confessor, are not without passages of imaginative beauty, 'it happened at that time that my mother died, 'who was a great obstacle to me in the way of God. And 'in like manner my husband and all my sons. . . . I re-'ceived great consolation from their deaths.' Nor when, in Divine vision, the Virgin brings her sleeping Child, and He lies with closed eyes in Angela's embrace, does her rhapsody of adoring tenderness efface our remembrance of that cold reference to those dead children of her earthly home who in other days had lain in the arms and been cherished upon the breast where now the Eternal Baby rests. Such estrangement—to use no harsher epithet—from natural human love is wholly absent from Suso's character. The chapter which tells of his sister's fall from the obedience of her convent vows, of her sin and sorrow and forlorn abandonment, betrays in every sentence how firmly the fibres of his heart clung to their old attachments. 'When he heard he 'became like a stone for sorrow, his heart died . . . he 'went about like one out of his mind. Then the thought 'came to him, "Cast aside all human shame and spring into '"the deep gulf to her and lift her up."' So he seeks and finds the poor refugee of sin, sick and lonely, sitting on a cottage bench. His eyes fail him for grief; taking her in his arms he cries, 'Alas, my child! alas, my sister! alas, 'gentle maiden! St. Agnes, how bitter has thy feast day 'become!' She, falling at his feet with great tears, pleads —in some sort we divine Suso's own teaching in the plea— for pardon. 'Reverence,' she prays, 'God in me.' 'Alas, 'my child!' is Suso's cry, 'thou, from my childhood up 'my heart and soul's joy, come hither to me;' and, in a later episode, 'still,' he says of a deeply corrupted and impenitent sinner, whose slanderous accusation has heaped dishonour upon his own fair fame, 'I honour in her the 'dignity of all pure women.' The scene of quaint pathos, where the baby child of his false accuser is brought to his

cell, may well stand foremost amongst the most incongruous situations of the great human comedy of real life, where love and tenderness recklessly set at nought the wisdom and prudence and justice of the world.

Towards the close of the 'Life,' when, one is inclined to guess, the greater part of Suso's sixty-five years of mortality have passed over his head, stilling his impulses and silencing the last whispers of unsatisfied cravings, 'the exterior 'manifestations' gave place, he says, to those which were interior. Then it is that, with a touch of dispassionate indifference, he attempts to analyse the gift of the vision-seer in words with which Sta. Teresa and Fray Juan de la Cruz were possibly familiar, for Suso's writings, as well as those of Tauler and Eckart, were freely circulated in Spanish translations in the century following his death. We are not concerned with the truth or rationality of the creed of transcendental theology, professed by each saint alike; it is truly a region upon whose threshold the foot of the heretic may well falter. But whether it be of those profoundest ecstasies of the wholly emancipated soul, or of those simpler visions that, according to their doctrine, lie lower and nearer to humanity (visions of the 'sensual soul'), most of us, though with no arrogant nineteenth-century self-complacency, will concur assentingly in the sentence with which Suso concludes his exposition—the same phrase occurs in Sta. Teresa's writings—'only they who have experienced 'can understand.'

These autobiographical fragments of Suso's life present us with a picture of the mystic ascetic in his more active personal, spiritual, and divine relationships. The revelations of Juliana of Norwich serve as a complementary type, perhaps the most striking extant, of the modes of thought of the passive ecstatic.

'XVI Revelations of Divine Love, showed to a devote 'servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an anchorete of 'Norwich: who lived in the Dayes of K. Edward the 'Third'—which Revelations were revived from an ancient copy and published in 1670 by Hugh Paulin Cressy—is the account of the book supplied by the preface and title-page; and various later editions, Catholic and Protestant, of this eloquent Old England volume, of days when Chaucer was making his 'Canterbury Tales,' and Sir John Mandeville had lately finished his 'Travells,' testify to the permanent interest it excited in a certain section of the religious public.

It is a book of far less picturesquely coloured imagination

than the book of the Revelations of St. Mechtild with its vestures of white and rose colour, its golden bells and diadems of precious stones, its raiment like Heaven's blue besprinkled with blossoms of gold, and its fair five-petalled rose that covers the Heart of God. It has not the practical note of St. Bridget's inspired instructions, which, at least in the selections made by her English editor, betray the accent of the reformer and teacher whose eyes, like those of Sta. Teresa, behold the daily life of earth no less clearly than the spiritual images of eternity; nor will it ever be asserted of Juliana's work, either in praise or depreciation, as the recent translator of St. Catherine asserts of her famous 'Ecstatic 'Dialogue,' that 'it is nothing more than a mystical exposi-'tion of the creeds taught to every child in the Catholic 'poor schools.' For, humble daughter of her Church as Juliana was, her mysticism belongs to a region where truly dogmatic catechisms have no entrance.

It is a mysticism at once profoundly personal as it deals with the inner relationship of Juliana to God, and fervently apostolic as it regards the relationship of God to Juliana's 'even Christen'—her equals in the commonwealth of Christ. Life, indeed, to her possesses no other aspects. The distractions of Teresa's great apostolate, the intellectual vistas of San Juan's theological scholarship, even the interruptions of Suso's community life and missionary labours, are unknown to the solitary anchorite. No faintest shadow, no passing echo of battles and sieges, of Spanish wars and poisoned princes, penetrated the cell where Juliana, 'a 'simple creature, unlettered, living in deathly flesh, on the '13th night of May in the year of our Lord 1373, tooke all 'her rites of holie church and went not to have liven till 'daie.' Condensed into some few sentences—their brevity accentuates the force of the narrative—we follow the record of those night hours of six hundred Mays ago, hours which were to serve as a mere preface to the fifteen ensuing years of mortal sickness, the period of her visions. It is a prelude recalling to our memory the words of St. John of the Cross, 'The soul unable to bear the ecstasies in a body so 'frail cries aloud to God, "Turn away Thine eyes from me. '"Turn them away, O my beloved!"' and the fable of the 'Morte d'Arthur' is here verified, 'When the deathly flesh 'beheld the spiritual thing it began to tremble right hard.' As we read we become witnesses of the scene. We see the slow dying, the speechless lips, the eyes on which darkness settles like a weight; the limbs are numb, the breath fails,

and the woman's soul burns itself free. The picture is complete in all its details. The priest is there and he sets the cross before her.

'I have brought thee,' he tells her, 'the Image of our 'Saviour, looke thereupon and comfort thee.' But she already thought she was well, 'for mine eien were sett up-'right into Heaven.' Yet, for obedience sake, she looks. Then the earthly framework fades, one passing mention of the red signet ring upon her hand, to which 'for round-'head' the blood-drops that in ghostly sight fall from Christ's lacerated brows are likened; one simile drawn from the water that dips from 'the evesing of an house after a 'great shower,' in which we seem for a moment to catch the sound of May rain on the roof, and all the events of transitory life are obliterated. The sharpness of that long dying still encompasses her, the natural life of the body, of the senses, of the intellect, has surrendered its last citadel, but in that eclipse of mortality the soul, disenthralled from the restrictive conditions of time and space, drawing in its royal train the subjugated faculties, beholds the invisible, hears the inaudible, and apprehends the unknown. And yet with Juliana, as with Suso, it is not so much the manumission of the spirit from the flesh, of which we are made aware, as it is of the infection of the flesh with spirituality. The images presented are no vacant metaphors. Sight has remained sight, only the soul has opened a new avenue into the eternities on either side; hearing has remained hearing, but by that spiritual contagion its capacities are extended into the infinite. Above all, the heart of the woman has remained a heart, now 'glad and merry in love' for that Lord of hers 'who will be trusted for He is full homely and 'courteous,' now broken with compassion at the spectacle of His despiteous passion. 'I saw the sweet face as it were 'dry and bloodless with pale dying and dead languring,' thus she describes the opening of one of those earlier visions; she saw 'the bloodshed and the pain and the 'blowing of the wind and cold,' and how, she questions, 'might any pain be more than to see Him that is all my life, 'all my bliss, and all my joy, suffer?' The love of a human womanhood rings through every sentence of the sequel.

'"Look up to heaven," a proffer, as it had been friendly, 'said to me. "Look up to heaven to His Father." I 'answered inwardly with all the might of my soul, "Nay, I '"will not. Thou art my heaven."' 'I had liefer have been 'in that paine till doomsday,' she adds, 'than have come to

'heaven otherwise than by Him,' and human, well we recognise it, is the vehemence of that reiterated exclusion of all other paths to joy. 'Me liked,' she says, 'none other 'heaven.' Once again she touches the same octave, condensing in a single phrase which has seldom been transcended in its brief expression of the possession that leaves the infinity of love's desire still unsatiated: 'I saw Him and 'I sought Him, I had Him, and I wanted Him!' Fletcher's tenderness, Ford's passion, lose colour placed side by side with the utterances of this worn recluse whose hands are empty of every treasure.

And round all her 'even Christen,' God's lovers in heaven and on earth, not omitting those dear sinners whose sins by God's great courtesie—it is the word she uses almost oftener than any other in connexion with the Deity—are forgotten, her warm affections cling. For St. John of Beverley, who it seems was a 'kind neighbour and of her knowing;' for our Lady St. Mary, a simple maiden, but little waxen above a child, as she stood to Juliana's beholding; for God Himself, the Lord who 'took no place in His own House,' who 'is a very noble Lord and will save His word in all 'things' (the language of chivalry echoes fantastically from the outward world of the Black Prince's day), 'and will make 'all well that is not well,' for these her love clothes itself as with the tender impetus of a child's caress. God, it is true, has His secrets; sin and hell trouble her betimes, as they have troubled many another before and since; but a certain gay optimism of faith and hope triumphant, surmounts that infirmity of fear. 'Sin is behovely, but all shall be 'well and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall 'be well,' is the refrain of page after page—and little marvel it is, for 'she saw an high privity hid in God, which shall 'be known in heaven to us. In which knowing we shall 'verily see the cause why He suffered sin. In which sight 'we shall endlessly have joy, and all say with one voice, 'Lord, blessed mote Thou be. For because it is thus, 'thus it is well.'

Strange too is it, in an epoch when the physical hell of fire and torture—such hells as that of Teresa's later vision, 'with long narrow lane, low and dark and close, with 'mire of reptiles and contracting walls,' had branded itself upon the orthodox—to read Juliana's quiet words: 'To me 'was showed none harder hell than sin; hell was as sin to 'my sight;' and from sin, she gives sad assent to the inexorable law of human weakness, 'we may not in this life

'keep us.' Yet, even as she makes her concession to the inevitable, the old jubilant faith reasserts its sure basis of final victory. 'In each soul that shall be safe is a goodly 'will, that never assenteth to sin ne never shall,' and in the end 'blame shall be turned into endless worship, though 'how and by what deed there is no creature beneath Christ 'that wot it.' Even those to whom her gospel conveys no certificate of truth may find something to learn in that doctrine of good cheer.

This is to give but some slight sketch of those conditions of mind and body and thought belonging to the mysticism of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. To track its influence in literature, to follow its developements in the copies fiction made from life, and in those other more recent plagiarisms life is accused of having made from fiction, is a task far beyond our scope. That it left the trace of its spiritual glamour is plain enough. The German school of chivalric romance, as represented by Fouqué in his legends (mis-estimated in England as children's stories), or by Novalis in his unfinished 'Heinrich von Oftendingen,' is permeated with it. Perhaps some kindred film crept over Hawthorne's pen when he wrote his tales, where, trembling on the brink of the unseen, the figures of his men and women rise in the moonlight of his creative fancy. George Sand, in her strange chronicle of spiritual inheritances 'Spiridion,' has caught something of its atmosphere. Its symbolism is echoed —we are tempted to say their pose approaches a parody —by many so-called 'mystics' of our own time, who are fain to assume the gift of the ascetic's vision while they withhold the guarantee of the ascetic's sacrifice. Spurious mysticism there has ever been, superficial imitations and artificial emotions. Men forget that to see a vision is not to have become a mystic. To be, if one may borrow the journalists' term, an anti-naturalist, is not to have attained the ethereal kingdom that flesh and blood cannot inherit. The 'Chevalier Malheur' may pierce the hand of the dreamer; 'le rêve qui pleure' may visit the dead eyes of the living sinner; to the remorseful penitent 'les soirs mystiques,' with their vibrations of 'les angélus roses et noirs,' may come;* the experiences of Huysmans's hero, the Parisian 'mystic' of to-day, whose studied emotions and self-absorbed egoism would be less revolting as features of his sins than of his repentances, may be true to life. But the fact remains

* 'Sagesse,' Paul Verlaine.

that to adopt a symbolic phraseology is not to have assimilated a spiritual temperament, although be it allowed that in days when originals are lacking the copyists themselves may be unconscious of the fraud.

And towards them, as towards all who bear by right, or have taken in good faith, the title, the world may well exercise a judgement of forbearance. Sleeping dreams there are of the brain, the recital of which in a land, were there any such, where sleep is dreamless, would read as an impostor's fable. Waking dreams there may be of the soul, towards which our attitude is perforce of a like incredulity; yet, may be, even so and to us, they have their value. Is it not perhaps true, in a wider sense than the writer intended, that 'ohne die Träume würden wir gewiss früher alt'?

ART. III.—1. *Woman under the English Law.* By ARTHUR RACKHAM CLEVELAND. 1896.

2. *The Law of the Domestic Relations.* By W. P. EVERSLEY. Second edition. 1896.

WE live in times much given to murmurings and to the expression of dissatisfaction both with ourselves and our institutions. The good old days of self-complacency, so irritating to Mr. Matthew Arnold, are past. No need now for any of us to mutter under our breath, 'Wragg is in 'custody.' Our Navy is inadequate and unmanned, our Army costly and inefficient, our clergy are unloved, our public schools failures, our commercial morality rotten at the core. Betting on horses we have never seen, and on the rise or fall of stock we have never held, are our most prosperous industries, and the drink traffic is our only roaring trade; whilst, as for our manufactured articles, they are all (almost) made in Germany. In this querulous state of mind the Mother of Parliaments is not likely to escape domestic criticism. On all sides we hear complaints of both Houses. The Upper House has little to do, and the Lower House does nothing. Governments cannot pass their measures because of the garrulity of private members, those 'minor 'orators' of whom Mr. Chamberlain in his meridian splendour speaks so contemptuously; whilst private members themselves cannot pass their own little bills because the Government has taken all the time. It is a pitiable picture. Yet in important matters it is well to take large views, to forget the mishaps of the hour, to look back a bit and then forward; for so alone can we mark the progress of events and the course of law.

Every middle-aged Englishman, fat and pursy citizen though he may have become, has lived through a revolution effected by law—a revolution, or rather a series of revolutionary events, some of them hailed by salvoes of leading articles and thunders of popular applause, whilst others have passed barely noticed; nor would it be paradoxical to assert that the new laws which most nearly concern us, which affect not only our conduct but our ideas, which cut most deeply into our social life, are those which attracted the least observation during their passage through Parliament.

The title of Mr. Cleveland's interesting book which stands at the head of this article has suggested to us a subject second to none in social importance, which has been revo-

lutionised by Statute Law in our own day, and in order to judge in detail how complete that revolution has been it is only necessary to refer to Mr. Eversley's learned and scholarlike work on 'The Domestic Relations'—a book which, though technically belonging to the forbidding ranks of 'law books,' is yet full of human interest, and written, moreover, in the English language.

If it be the business of parliaments to make laws, to upset (if justice demands) established things, and to substitute in their place what is conceived to be equitable, and to do this fearlessly, nor always at the bidding of constituents or in consequence of 'mandates' from ill-attended public meetings, or minatory letters from underbred secretaries of declining associations, but in obedience to a true legislative instinct—why, then the history of our recent legislation with regard to married women is alike honourable in itself and a complete answer to those conceited babblers who would have the country believe that parliamentary institutions stand self-condemned to uselessness and public impotence.

Women may be roughly divided into two classes, married women and single women; for widows may, for legal purposes and without impropriety, be included, for the nonce, amongst the single. Apart from certain civic disqualifications and professional exclusiveness, our old Common Law never thought fit to bully single women, who, when of full age and of sound mind, have always been left free to manage their own property, whether real or personal, and to make and alter their wills and codicils as and when they in their good sense or caprice might think fit. No family council of males ventured to control them, nor was any limit placed either upon their acquisitiveness or their powers of inheritance. Single women amongst us have from time immemorial chaffered and sold, kept shop, and farm, and inn, driven to market, collected their rents, made their investments, sued their debtors, compounded with their creditors, and, in a word, lived their life exposed to nothing worse than a good deal of time-honoured and heavy jesting about 'single blessedness' and their supposed desire for, or alleged aversion to, that holy estate of matrimony, into which, for one reason or another, they never entered.

Very different, indeed, has been the history and plight of the married woman in England. Our laws are far more imaginative than our novels, being the creatures of the oddest preconceptions and the most original fancies Our

German forebears entertained a highly poetic and imaginative conception of matrimony. In the face of facts, doubtless notorious even in the 'Germania' of Tacitus, our ancestors insisted upon treating marriage as a suspension of the independent existence of the wife, and as an absorption by the husband of the woman and all her belongings. Henceforward the two were one, and that one the husband. To this hour, if 500*l.* is bequeathed to Jane, Peter, and John in equal shares, and Jane and Peter should chance to be man and wife, the legacy is divided, not into thirds, but into halves, for Jane and Peter are treated as one person, and take but a moiety between them, whilst the lucky John goes off with the other. It is not too much to say that the revolution it is our business to describe consists in the undoing in the latter half of the present century of the legal consequences flowing from the imaginative conception of marriage formed in the forests of Germany two thousand years ago.

This conception might quite easily have been otherwise. To use a literary expression, it was not in the least 'inevitable.' The Latin nations took no such view, and accordingly in the Civil Law husband and wife are and always have been considered as different persons who club together their resources to provide a home and an inheritance in which both have certain defined and mutually enforceable rights.

But however accidental the original preconception may have been, it fell upon fruitful soil in England and grew and prospered. The notion of the unity of the husband and the wife, meaning thereby the suspension of the wife and the lordship of the husband, seems from the first to have been particularly agreeable to the race of English lawyers, tickling their grim humour and gratifying their very limited sense of the fitness of things. Whenever they approached the subject a grin seems to have spread itself over their liberal expanse of countenance. How pleasantly, how good-humouredly, does Blackstone—he who first taught Law, as Bentham said, to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman—handle the theme in the first book of those inimitable Commentaries of his, now shamefully mangled beyond recognition by a succession of heartless editors. 'Even the 'disabilities which the wife lies under are for the most part 'intended for her protection and benefit, *so great a favourite* '*is the female sex of the laws of England!*' Blackstone, we know, wrote his famous book with a bottle of port by his side; and we would wager a dozen that after writing the words we have put in italics he sipped his glass and

chuckled. Until Lord Lyndhurst we are not aware that any lawyer of eminence quarrelled with the great Unity Theory of the German forest.

And how did that theory work out in practice. We will take the year 1857 as a period of time, and inquire what was the law to which married women were then subject. First, as to their property; second, as to their persons; and lastly as to the custody and guardianship of their children—matters, all of them, it will be admitted, in which they were not a little interested. First as to property.

By the act of marriage the wife made a present to her husband of all her personal estate. What was hers became his, and his it remained to the end of the chapter. It was his to spend or to save according to his humour or inherited instincts. It was his, her trinkets and trifles excepted, to leave to whom he chose by will. Did the wife during the continuance of the union become possessed of further personal estate, it all went straight into the same pocket. Had she lands and houses, her husband became her rent-collector without any liability to account; and if there was issue of the marriage, his right to go on receiving the rents and profits continued till his death, even though his wife had pre-deceased him. Contractual power the wife had none. Testamentary power she had none. Prior to 1857—our imaginary date—the plight of the married woman was worse than it had been in earlier times when the Common Law divided a man's goods on his death into three parts, and gave his widow one of them; but this customary division very early became obsolete except in Wales, the Province of York, and the City of London, in which places it was abolished by Acts of Parliament passed in the reigns of William and Mary, William III., and George I. (See Mr. Cleveland, 173.) In the same way the widow's ancient right to dower—namely, to a life interest in a third of her husband's freehold estates, was destroyed first in actual practice by the devices of conveyancers, and again in 1834 by an Act of Parliament, which enabled husbands to bar their wives' right to dower by a simple declaration in the deed whereby property otherwise dowable was conveyed to him. It is worth remarking that this dodging of dower was not attributable to men's hatred of their wives, but was really the work of conveyancers and lawyers, and was done in order to simplify titles which were not readily transferable if the concurrence of widows had to be obtained. The husbands really knew nothing about it.

But to resume. If a husband left his wife to make her

own way in the world by her skill in any industry, or her proficiency in any art, the small earnings she might so acquire, and any tiny investments she might make therewith, however necessary for her sustenance or the maintenance and education of his children, were absolutely at her husband's mercy; and did he make a raid upon her the law stood sheepishly by and let him rifle her pockets and carry off the plunder to spend how and on whom he chose. 'Courts of Law,' said the Lord Justice Turner, in 1861, 'deny 'married women both the power to contract and to enjoy.'

Such was the Common Law of England, declared by Coke 'to be the birthright of the subject, inasmuch as every 'member of the community is of right entitled to the benefit 'and protection of those laws under which he is born.' And so far as Statute Law had touched the Common Law it had made it worse for married women.

But no sooner have we laid down the law than an exception has to be made—an exception curiously characteristic of the practice of our laws and yet incongruous with their spirit. Our old and somewhat discreditable friends—'the classes and the 'masses'—here lift their snaky heads and begin hissing. Those married women who belonged to 'the masses' lived and died in this matter of property subject to the Common Law, their ancient and usually their only birthright. Having for the most part no property of their own when they married, save, to use a vulgar phrase, the shifts they stood in at the altar, their pre-nuptial attention was not especially directed to the legal consequences of their change of *status*. They looked to their husbands to support them, they contributing household labour and a woman's wit; and, indeed (for it is a foolish thing to allow yourself to be carried away by a subject, even though you chose it for yourself), who dare say that in this England of ours a woman's state of marriage was ever (save in melancholy but exceptional cases) a pauper's state? Common Law or no Common Law the grey mare often proved herself the better horse; nor would it ever, we suspect, have been safe, at any period of our history, for either gentle or simple totally to have disregarded the opinions of the good wife at home.

In the case of women who were either in their own right or by the proposed provision of their parents possessed or put in possession of property before the date of their marriage, the Common Law has, for two centuries at least, been superseded by the system of marriage settlements and the interposition of trustees. This machinery, fostered and

protected by the Court of Chancery, secured for married women what was called their 'separate estate,' which was free from the disposition and control of their husbands. The 'class' woman has enjoyed the usufruct of this separate estate for two hundred years, and in respect of it was always treated by a Court of Equity as a *feme sole.* This kind of property might be acquired either by contract with the husband before marriage or (subject to the rights of creditors) by gift from him after marriage, or, if fit words were used, by gift, or under the will of any third party, and over this property the married woman might have such a power of appointment after her own death as amounted to a complete testamentary disposition.

Thus did the wily race of conveyancers, sitting in their dusty chambers, outwit the heavy Germans, and upset the great 'Unity' theory.

It would, however, be a huge mistake to attribute this equitable doctrine and the practice of conveyancers to a revolt against the subjection of women. It was nothing of the kind, but sprang from the desire of wealthy parents to protect the fortunes they wished to bestow upon their daughters and grandchildren from dissipation by sons-in-law, whilst it spread and became general because of the opportunity it likewise afforded intending husbands, engaged in the risk of trade, of making a snug provision for their dear wives, and therefore for their still dearer selves, which should be beyond the reach of creditors in case of disagreeable eventualities. In our law marriage has always been what is called 'a valuable consideration'—that is to say, property vested in trustees for the benefit of a woman you are about to, and do subsequently, marry, and her children, cannot afterwards be taken back on the ground that the effect of the transaction was to remove from your creditors assets that would otherwise have been divisible amongst them. Thus has it come about that many a man who has failed for thousands of pounds, and made a hundred homes desolate, has yet been found spending his old age in a veritable garden of roses appurtenant to the neatest of villas, all bought and maintained out of that 'separate estate' with which, in the ardent yet far-seeing days of his courtship, with loving prudence he had endowed the lady of his heart.

That the object of marriage settlements was not independence, but security, is shown by the growth of the equitable doctrine. Lord Thurlow, being interested in the fortunes

of a Miss Watson who was about to be married, invented out of his own head a clause known as the clause 'in re-'straint of anticipation,' the effect of which is to prevent a married woman from forestalling a single halfpenny of the income of her estate. A woman thus hampered is as much a slave as ever the old Common Law could have wished her to be; but she is a slave worth possessing, for every quarter her trustees, who are in law, though not in equity, the owners of her capital, pay her a round sum, and are bound to go on paying it to her year after year, whatever happens. No doubt, when once the quarter's income has found its way into the wife's pocket, it is a question for the husband whether or not he should cry 'Halves!'

Much injustice has resulted from this arrangement. A penniless husband and a wealthy wife restrained from anticipation are not nice neighbours. The wife wants a new greenhouse, and bids her husband (her lord at Common Law) when next he strolls through the village to step in and ask the carpenter to take the order. The honest workman greatly rejoices at his good luck, and, though the job is rather beyond his means, cheerfully undertakes and completes it. But no sooner is it done than the 'married 'woman restrained from anticipation' turns huffy, vows she never wanted a greenhouse, least of all such a greenhouse as this; maintains, at all events, that it was not she who ordered it, and that anyhow she won't pay for it. It was her husband who gave the order, not she; and any tradesman who knew his business would have taken the pains to ascertain whether a man who lived with his wife in a house rated at 200*l.* a year was good for 100*l.* For the luckless carpenter there is no relief save bankruptcy; he must be sold up and lose his money, and, what is worse, his faith in English justice. To this poor man our equitable doctrines, our system of marriage settlements, our practice of conveyancers, must seem dire and even devilish things. Were he a reading man he would exclaim with the hero of the 'Bon Gaultier' parody of 'Locksley Hall'—

> 'Cursed be the marriage-contract that enchained thy soul to greed
> Cursed be the sallow lawyer that prepared and drew the deed;
> Cursed be the foul apprentice who the loathsome fees did earn
> Cursed be the clerk and parson—cursed be the whole concern.

To sum this matter up. We find that until the recent legislation, to which we must hereafter refer, married women belonging to the masses lived and died subject to

the tender mercies of the Common Law, which sank them in their husbands and destroyed their capacity either to hold or to enjoy. In a word, for the exceptions are few and trifling, property they could have none. For the classes, there were trustees and marriage settlements, whereby married women were converted into mere income-receiving machines, and were left powerless to touch the capital of their fortunes, or in any way to manage their own affairs.

Coming now to the delicate subject of the protection granted by law to the persons of married women, we do not find here any equitable doctrines modifying the rigour of the Common Law, which ranked a man's wife with his children and apprentices, and were he of a pedagogic turn, his scholars. Obedience was (in theory) the badge of all the tribe of married women, and our old lawyers allowed themselves pleasantries on the supposed right of husbands to chastise their wives with sticks no thicker than their own thumbs. That, as a matter of fact, Englishmen have beaten their wives is indisputable; one of the many lords of the Wife of Bath used to beat that lady (nor did she, if Chaucer is to be believed, like him any the less on that account), but within legal memory a man who laid violent hands upon his wife might be bound over at her instance to keep the peace. The subject is an ill one for jesting, and we regret that Blackstone (after a sip and a chuckle) should have thought fit to make the allusion he does to the exercise by the lower rank of the people, who 'were always fond of the Common Law,' of this alleged ancient privilege of assault. Our laws are responsible for a good deal of the ingrained brutality of 'the lower ranks 'of the people.' Quite apart from chastisement, married women were left almost entirely to the mercy of their husbands, who might drag them where they would, and did the poor things manage to make their escape and set up for themselves, might pay them domiciliary visits and despoil them of their belongings. If, however, the husband so far forgot himself as to commit adultery or acts of cruelty of a kind dangerous to health, or if he deserted his wife for two years, she might, were her friends wealthy enough, consult a proctor and obtain from the Ecclesiastical Courts a divorce *a mensa et thoro*—i.e., from bed and board. But if she did, what was her lot? Let Lord Lyndhurst describe it. Speaking in the House of Lords on May 20, 1856, Lord Lyndhurst said:—

'A wife is separated from her husband by a decree of the Ecclesiastical Court on account of his cruelty it may be, or his adultery.

From that moment the wife is almost in a state of outlawry. She may not enter into a contract, or if she does she has no means of enforcing it. The law, so far from protecting her, oppresses her. She is homeless, helpless, hopeless, and almost destitute of civil rights. She is liable to all manner of injustice, whether by plot or by violence. She may be wronged in all possible ways, her character may be mercilessly defamed—yet she has no redress. She is at the mercy of her enemies.'

It is a grim picture. In the same speech 'the old man 'eloquent' proceeded to denounce the heartlessness of the law which did not allow the wife, whose alleged adultery was made the subject-matter of an action of criminal conversation brought by her husband against her supposed paramour, either to appear at the bar or to give evidence.

'Mark,' exclaimed Lord Lyndhurst, 'the injustice. As far as the plaintiff and defendant are concerned it is a matter of money. But is it so with the wife? With her it is a matter of life and death. If the action succeeds, all is lost with her. She is driven from society. She has no refuge. No one will receive her. Yet in actions of that description she is not so much as heard. She dare not lift up her voice. She is not permitted to appear in the case or to give evidence.'

Prior to the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, a remarkable measure, skilfully pioneered through the Commons by Sir Richard Bethell and furiously debated by Mr. Gladstone, no woman, whatever her matrimonial grievances, could obtain a complete divorce, that is such a severance of the tie as left her a free woman. The most she could get was that divorce *a mensa et thoro*, entailing the disagreeable consequences so feelingly depicted by Lord Lyndhurst. With men it was different, provided always they were rich. A wealthy man who had convicted his wife of adultery in the Ecclesiastical Court and held her up to infamy in the infamous action of *crim. con.* could obtain, by means of a private Act of Parliament, complete relief and liberty to marry again; and thereon hangs a really merry tale. The Bishops in the Lords were accustomed to insist upon the insertion in each Divorce Bill of a clause prohibiting the re-marriage of the parties during each other's lifetime; but this done, they proffered no objection to the clause so inserted being dropped prior to the third reading. We are indeed a remarkable people, with a positive genius for subterfuge and evasion, but that right reverend prelates should play such tricks ought to be, though it is not, just a little surprising.

'It cannot be said that until recent legislation our law

afforded married women the protection to which they were fairly entitled for their persons. If a wife ran away from her husband he could, if guilty of no matrimonial offence himself, obtain an order of the court requiring her under penalty of imprisonment to return to the conjugal life. Mr. Mill, in his remarkable but now, happily, to a great extent obsolete book, 'The Subjection of Women,' speaks feelingly of the deep degradation to which married women might be compelled to submit by the law. The subject is a painful one, but, as we proceed, it will be discovered that the law is now free from all reproach in this matter, which must always remain a very serious one.

We pass now to a subject choked with emotion and brimful of mothers' tears—the custody of children.

Here the Common Law is to be found asserting itself in its well-known masterful manner. By the Common Law children belong to their father; they are his, and unless it can be proved that his ill-usage endangers their health or is calculated to corrupt their morals, his they must remain. As Blackstone puts it, 'mothers, *as such*, are entitled to no 'power—only reverence and respect.' Poor things! and yet it was they who bore the children in sickness and in travail. This right to the children was a terrible tyranny. As Lord Cottenham once said, it often made it impossible for a woman to assert her rights as a wife without injury being done to her feelings as a mother. We will, at the risk of being tedious, take an illustration from what lawyers reverentially call 'the books.' In the early days of the present century an Englishwoman of some fortune and considerable expectations married a Frenchman resident in this country, and a child was born of the union. The husband, so at least the wife deposed by affidavit, ill-used her, and she fled from him, taking her baby, still at the breast, with her. The Frenchman studied our laws, and succeeded in recovering possession of his property; but, owing to the pardonable treachery of a nurse, the infant was restored to its mother. But Frenchmen are persistent, and one dark, wet night in April 1804, the father made a raid upon his wife's house, snatched the child from her breast, and drove away with the baby 'half-naked,' as the wife deposed. This time there was no friendly nurse at hand, and the mother was left desolate and afflicted. Having money at her command, she sought advice, and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* requiring her husband, M. de Manneville, to bring up the child into the King's Bench

and show cause why he should retain it. For this purpose she employed three costly counsel, Erskine, Garrow, and Gibbs; but, alas! costly counsel can say no more when they have no case than the cheapest tyro of the law, and though they made what play they could with the fact that M. de Manneville was an alien enemy, and might be expected to take the child out of the jurisdiction, Lord Ellenborough and his learned brethren made the only order the law allowed them—namely, 'Let the child be remanded 'to the custody of the father,' and so accordingly it was.

But it was a pertinacious child, and after some delay made its bow in the High Court of Chancery under its proper title as 'Caroline Thomas de Manneville, an infant 'of the age of eleven months.' Here, on petition to be restored to her mother, the luckless babe, through the mouth of its next friend, poured out her piteous tale into the ear of Lord Eldon. This time the counsel employed were Romilly, Fonblanque, and Cook. Lord Eldon heard without surprise that Lord Ellenborough was helpless in the matter, remarking contemptuously that the Court of King's Bench had not 'within its constitution any of that 'species of delegated authority that exists in the King as '*Parens Patriæ*, and resides in the Court of Chancery as 'representing his majesty.' So, in the first instance at all events, little Caroline de Manneville had toddled into the wrong court, only to be rebuffed. What can Erskine and Garrow and Gibbs have been thinking of? The Lord Chief Justice of England, Cabinet Minister though he was, could do nothing in the case. Of course not! She must come to the Lord High Chancellor: Codling is the infants' friend, not Short.

But when Caroline de Manneville did find herself before the deputy *Parens Patriæ*, that great authority was puzzled. He had no faith in Frenchmen, and the wife was of respectable parentage and had a snug little fortune; still, to take a baby of eleven months old—a female baby—from a father who, though a Frenchman, was not alleged to be an atheist, or even a notorious ill-liver, was more than Lord Eldon was prepared to do, so he concocted an order requiring the Frenchman to give security that he would not take his daughter out of England. The Frenchman, naturally enough, could not find security, and thereupon Lord Eldon made a stringent order restraining him from removing or taking any step whatever in the direction of removing the

child out of the country. The Chancellor evidently had some plan in his head, but what it was we cannot say, for just at this point Miss Caroline de Manneville disappears from legal history. She may still be living somewhere in an honoured age, despite her early exposure. We hope she is. Were we at liberty to guess what happened, we should conjecture that her mother bought her back from her father for money down, since paternal affection such as M. de Manneville's is usually capable of being expressed in figures.

Upon the cognate subject of appointing guardians to children after death there is little to be said. By a statute of Charles II. a father was permitted by will to nominate guardians for his infant children, but a mother, even though a widow, could not do this. Thus, in 1865, a man died, leaving behind him his wife and four infant children. He forgot to appoint guardians, but he left all his property to his wife for life, and after her death amongst his children equally. The wife did not survive a year, but made a will whereby she purported to appoint guardians for her orphans. No sooner was she in her grave than rival relatives began disputing who should be guardians, and the Court of Chancery was appealed to. The judges pointed out that the wife's nomination had no legal warrant, but they regarded her wishes by appointing the same persons as she had selected. We mention this case to show how, in 1865, a widowed mother, to whom her husband had left all his property for life, could not legally appoint guardians for her own infant children, even when their father had forgotten to do so.

We now gladly turn over the page and begin inquiring what Statute Law has done in these important matters since 1857, our agreed point of view. First, as to property. Here what earliest attracted the attention of lawyers—for be it said all the reforms we are now concerned with have proceeded from liberal-minded and kind-hearted practitioners of the law, stimulated, it may be, by intelligent and generous women—was the evil case of those women who, though living upon their own resources, were yet liable to be plundered of their earnings by a thief whom the law protected because he was also a husband. The twenty-first clause of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, enabled a married woman whose husband had deserted her to obtain from a police magistrate or from justices in petty sessions an order protecting her earnings, and placing her in respect

of them in the same position as if she had never been married. This relief, valuable as it was, did not meet the justice of the case, and from that time forward private members of Parliament, at irregular intervals, obtained leave to introduce bills into the House of Commons seeking to protect the separate earnings of married women, whether deserted by their husbands or not. In 1868 a bill of this kind was read for the second time by the casting vote of the Speaker, the House being equally divided—123 on each side; but this bill was dropped at a later stage. In 1870 the late Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London, who possessed in no small measure that parliamentary influence which is only bestowed upon men of high character, good sense, and stern veracity,* succeeded—being ably supported by Sir George Jessel and Sir John Duke Coleridge—in passing the Married Woman's Property Act of 1870, a measure which, though since swallowed up in the revolutionary Act of 1882, was a great advance at the time, since it effectually protected the wages and earnings of married women, and the investments made with such wages and earnings. This bill was mainly, though not entirely, supported as a poor woman's bill, though of course its opponents, chiefly lawyers of the pettifogging type, denounced it as the beginning of a time when marriage would no longer destroy the legal individuality of the wife. Nor were these 'thin-end-of-the-wedge' gentlemen wrong, for in due course, after a few nibbling amendments that need not detain us, came 'silent, flooding in the main,' the measure of 1882. January 1, 1883, is a great date in the annals of married women, for a marriage celebrated after that date no longer deprives a woman of her legal capacity either to hold or to enjoy. What is hers remains hers as her separate estate; what becomes hers no longer goes (in the first instance at any rate) into her husband's pocket, but straight into her own. It is hers to save or to spend, and it is hers to leave to whom she chooses. Her wages and earnings are hers and hers alone; in short, marriage makes no difference. As against this, she must now pay her own prænuptial debts, and if she enters into contracts she will be credited

* 'The two chief things that give a man reputation in counsel are the opinion of his honesty and the opinion of his wisdom. The authority of these two will persuade when the same counsel uttered by other persons less qualified are of no efficacy or working.'—Ben Jonson's 'Discoveries of Men and Matter.'

with the intention of fulfilling them out of her own property; nay more, she must, out of her separate estate if she has any, keep her husband and children off the rates. A married woman may also be made bankrupt. What an emancipation is this! Nothing is left of a married woman's ancient birthright, the old Common Law, except, indeed, that trifling little vagary we have already mentioned about the legacy of 500*l.* left to be equally divided between Jane, Peter, and John; for even though Jane and Peter have been married after the glorious 1st of January, 1883, they will take but 125*l.* apiece, whilst John will still go off with 250*l.*, because our ever-sentimental judges will have it that for this solitary purpose Jane and Peter are still one. Over this luckless couple the trees of the German forest rustle as of yore, but it is a point of much insignificance.

It would be interesting to ascertain the effect the Act has had upon the number of marriage settlements. Probably now, when mature women who have tasted of the sweets of liberty and grown accustomed to manage their own affairs marry, settlements are frequently dispensed with; but in the case of the marriages of the young women of the well-to-do class they are still in use, and likely to remain so. Fathers-in-law are not likely to lose sight of the wheedling propensities of sons-in-law, and intending husbands engaged in commercial pursuits—and nowadays who is not so engaged?—or fond of a flutter on the Stock Exchange, are no less keen than they ever were to seize the opportunity of their approaching nuptials to place a portion of their own property out of the reach of the Official Receiver. No Act of Parliament can prevent a loving woman from putting her hand into her separate pocket, if she has got one, to relieve the anxieties of a husband in pecuniary difficulties, and therefore prudence and family foresight will always favour those settlements which place the wife's fortune out of her reach in the hands of trustees only authorised to invest it in sound securities, and to pay her no more than the income, unless, indeed, it be for the advancement in life of the children—for is it not at least possible there may be children to be considered? An accomplished lady has lately, we are aware, written a history of her sex from early ages down to the present time, in which she has not found it necessary to refer to the fact that women, and women alone, are the mothers of mankind; but the less philosophical writers, whose business it is to prepare marriage settlements, would hardly earn their fees if they did not in those documents

make some provision for possible issue. But the law has made married women free, and it can do no more, for to forbid marriage settlements would be foolish and tyrannical.

Let us now see what protection modern legislation has bestowed upon a wife's person.

Prior to the Divorce Act, as it is commonly called, of 1857 the most an injured wife could obtain was a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, and what her plight then was Lord Lyndhurst has told us. The Act substituted judicial separation for a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, and it conferred upon a woman so separated the status of an unmarried woman, thus enabling her to protect herself. By the same Act, for the first time, women could, if sufficiently aggrieved, obtain a complete divorce; but her husband's unfaithfulness alone is not offence enough to enable the wife to break the matrimonial bonds: he must be cruel as well, or have deserted her for two years, to set her free. With men it is different. An unfaithful English wife need add no other sin to her catalogue to enable her husband, if so minded, to dissolve the union between them. In Scotland the spouses have equal rights of divorce; whilst in Ireland the old law holds good—no divorce at all except by Act of Parliament in each case, and then only at the instance of the man. We are not quite a united kingdom even yet!

In 1878 an Act was passed enabling a wife, whose husband has been convicted of an aggravated assault upon her, to obtain from a magistrate, if he should be of opinion that her bodily safety requires it, an order releasing her from any obligation further to cohabit with a brute, and putting her in the same legal position as if she had obtained a judicial separation in the Divorce Court. This cheapened the process very much.

In 1884 a remarkable statute was passed, rendering nugatory a decree of the court for the restitution of conjugal rights. No doubt there always was a difficulty about enforcing these orders. To compel a couple to live together as man and wife would tax the resources of a whole army of sheriff's officers. Nor did the law ever attempt to do so. All it did was to clap the obstinate spouse into gaol and keep him or her there at the public expense until he or she purged his or her contempt, apologised, promised to make amends in the future for past remissness, and paid costs. He or she was then let out, and told to go home. In 1884 even this process was abandoned, and the question was then mooted, What are the rights of, let us say, a husband who,

guilty of no matrimonial offence, has obtained from the proper court an order for restitution of his conjugal rights and yet cannot persuade his wife to live with him and be his love? The great Jackson case in 1891 decided that rights he has none. There, Mrs. Jackson preferred the society of her relatives to that of her husband, and paid no attention to the decree of the court requiring her to observe her vows. None the less she was in the habit of going to church, for it was whilst returning from public worship that she met her husband in full pursuit of what he conceived to be his private rights; he hustled her into a cab, and *in facie Ecclesiæ* drove her to what ought to have been, but was not, her home, where she was allowed as much liberty as was consistent with her not running away. Mr. Jackson, in fact, treated his wife as Queen Elizabeth treated the Roman Catholic bishops who declined to recognise her new Settlement of Religion—she, we remember, quartered them on their Protestant successors, where they enjoyed, what Burleigh styled, 'free captivity.' The bishops acquiesced, but Mrs. Jackson was made of sterner mould, and sued out, through her friends, her *habeas corpus*. She was brought up by her husband, who made his return to the writ, stating his case, but after full argument the Court of Appeal made an order in words instinct with English liberty, 'Return bad, and wife to go free.' Lord Halsbury and Lord Esher, in highly rhetorical judgments, simply danced upon the Common Law; but the Lord Justice Fry, though he moved to a statelier measure, being in truth somewhat encumbered with the learning on the subject, agreed with the rest of the court that by English law a husband has no right to keep his wife in any kind of custody, even though he knows that the first use she will make of her restored freedom is to walk out of his house for ever. We own to a wish that the same question had arisen during the time of Buller and Bayley, justices.

A recent Act of 1895, repealing the earlier Act already referred to of 1878, and an intermediate Act of 1886, enables a married woman, whose husband has deserted her, and also a married woman whose husband has assaulted her, to obtain from any Court of Summary Jurisdiction a maintenance order not exceeding 2*l*. a week, as well as the equivalent of a decree for judicial separation.

It would be difficult to say what further protection Statute Law could give to a wife's person. The apparent heartlessness of magistrates, as shown by the trivial punishments they inflict upon wife-beaters, is in most cases attributable to the

refusal of the wife to be separated from her husband and to the futility of any other relief.

It is now only left to us to notice the custody and guardianship of children.

The barbarity of the Common Law was first mitigated by statute in the year 1839, when an Act was passed, in consequence of the exertions of Talfourd, the amiable author of 'Ion,' the friend and biographer of Charles Lamb, and afterwards a Justice of the Common Pleas. By this Act mothers were permitted to petition the Court of Chancery for access to their infant children, and if such children were under seven years of age, for their custody until that age; but no mother who had been found guilty of adultery either in the Ecclesiastical Court or in an action of *crim. con.* was entitled to the benefit of the Act.

In 1873 the age was raised from seven to sixteen, and in 1886 the widest possible discretion was conferred upon the judges to make any order they might think fit 'regarding 'the custody of any infant and the right of access thereto of 'either parent, having regard to the welfare of the infant, 'and to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes as well 'of the mother as of the father.'

After this Act, it cannot now be said that infants belong to either parent; for if father and mother are foolish enough to quarrel the judges will decide between them, having regard to the welfare of the infant only. It is great power to put in the hands of anybody, but it is hard to see what else could be devised.

In the matter of religion, the father is preferred; for though our courts are, as at present constituted, determined that every child should be taught some recognised creed, they have no longer any predilections of their own, and get quit of the difficulty (cleverly enough) by maintaining the father's religion to be preferable to the mother's in case of difference. But if the child is old enough to appreciate religious distinctions, and has been well indoctrinated in one set of opinions, the court will refuse to sanction a change.

When there is only one parent living, the Act of 1886 does not apply, and then the only interference possible is by the court as *parens patriæ*, or rather deputy *parens patriæ*. Since the Judicature Acts of 1873 and onwards, the old differences between Coke and Bacon, Ellenborough and Eldon, the Queen's Bench and the High Court of Chancery have been finally healed. Both Codling and Short are now alike the infant's friends, and even on *habeas corpus* in the

Queen's Bench the judges can, and will, exercise about the custody of a child the widest possible discretion. In 1893 the Court of Appeal from the Queen's Bench on *habeas corpus* refused to allow a widow the custody of her daughter on the ground that in their opinion the infant (who was however fifteen years of age) had been already so much separated from her mother, who was a very struggling person of somewhat ill-defined occupations, that her welfare would not be consulted by restoring her to that custodian. Jurisdiction of this kind is necessarily very delicate, and there are those, and, to judge from a few words in his preface, Mr. Eversley is one of them, who rather dread the hour when the authority of the judges will be found like a veritable Aaron's rod, to have swallowed up both paternal and maternal rights. Certainly, the question, What is the welfare of a child? raises issues, social, moral, religious, of a sufficiently momentous character. One judge might think the welfare of a female child involved such an environment as is best calculated to promote her marriage with a well-to-do tradesman, and, with this in his eye, might refuse to restore her to the custody of her mother, the secretary of a branch of the Fabian Society. But, after all, one must trust in these matters to the general sense of the community, which usually permeates even the Bench. For the most part, sensible people bicker but do not quarrel, and Carlyle *dissentiente*, most people are sensible when they confine themselves to their own affairs. By an Act of 1891 the Court is not bound to hand over a child to its parents, or to either parent, if satisfied that at a previous stage of the child's history it had been abandoned or given up. This measure was intended to protect philanthropic persons who, having assumed the care of children, found themselves threatened with writs of *habeas corpus* when the children became able to earn a little money.

As to the guardianship of children, it is only necessary to refer to the Act of 1886, which Mr. James Bryce took a very active part in forwarding, whereby on the death of the father of an infant the mother, if surviving, shall be the guardian of such infant, either alone or jointly with any guardian appointed by the father. By this Act mothers may, by deed or will, in the lifetime of their husbands appoint guardians to act after the death of both parents, and in the event of father and mother both appointing guardians, such guardians may act jointly. The court may also under the Act if it thinks a

father unfitted to be sole guardian appoint persons to act with him.

The late Lord Selborne, though in deep mourning for the loss of his wife, came up to London on purpose to see this measure safely through the Lords.

If man wants to do more for woman than he has already done, he can confer upon her the parliamentary franchise, insist upon the Incorporated Law Society admitting her to the Roll of Solicitors and the Inns of Court calling her to the Bar, remedy the inequalities of the Divorce Court, and see to it that Trades Unions do not bully her in the matter of work wages. This done, the curtain will fall for ever upon the tyrant, man.

ART. IV.—1. *Federation and Empire: A Study in Politics.* By THOMAS ALFRED SPALDING, LL.B., Barrister-at-Law. London: 1896.

2. *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study of International History.* By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D., Examiner in History to the University of Edinburgh. London, New York, and Bombay: 1896.

IT is eminently desirable, now that the fierceness of the Home Rule controversy is no longer affecting the minds of men, that students of politics and of history should turn their attention to the principles upon which the constitutional system of the United Kingdom is based, and should consider by what means it can best be brought into conformity with the sentiments and needs of our own time. We welcome, therefore, the two works whose titles appear at the head of this article, not because we agree with much of the reasoning they contain, nor with the conclusions at which they arrive, but because they are serious contributions to a great discussion by men who clearly have no other ends in view than the successful working of our political institutions, and the well-being and harmonious co-operation of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen as fellow-subjects of one kingdom. No one would think of accusing a Home Ruler of Mr. Spalding's stamp—if, indeed, he can be correctly so described—of being actuated by any spirit of separatism such as that which led Mr. Parnell and his associates to strive completely to sever the political relations of Ireland and Great Britain.

The methods and objects of our two authors are very different. Mr. Spalding strives to establish the benefit which would result from federalising England, Scotland, and Ireland, starting his reasonings upon the alleged failure of the parliamentary union of the three countries. Mr. Mackinnon has produced a careful and accurate history of the Union between England and Scotland, thinking, very truly, that it behoves Englishmen and Scotchmen to endeavour to understand the real objects of the statesmen who brought about the incorporating Union of 1707, and the feelings towards it of the people of the two countries. He is himself free from the prejudices which at that date inflamed men's minds, and he warns his readers to be on their guard against those travesties of history which partisans in an existing political conflict produce, in order to supply the

armoury of present party necessities. Mr. Mackinnon deals almost entirely with the past. He has produced a very interesting and, on the whole, impartially written account of the eventful period which led up to the Union, of the great struggle for and against the Union itself, and of the consequences resulting from it. He writes, it need scarcely be said, as a Scotchman, full of the universal feeling of his countrymen for the honour and dignity, as well as the welfare, of Scotland, whilst yielding not a tittle to any Englishman in the wider feeling of British patriotism towards the United Kingdom as a whole. To patriotism such as his the glories of Waterloo appeal no less strongly than those of Bannockburn. Whether all his conclusions can be entirely accepted may be doubtful, but no one can question the admirable spirit and fairness with which he discusses his subject, or the ability and industry he has brought to bear upon it.

The title of Mr. Spalding's work is a misnomer. It suggests, at all events, that its subject is the constitution of the 'Empire' outside, as well as inside, the limits of the United Kingdom; whilst, in fact, the discussion is entirely confined to proposals for reconstructing the constitutional system of Great Britain and Ireland. We do not complain of this limitation of his subject. To provide a new constitution even for the two British Islands is a heavy enough task for any one man to attempt. Two Cabinets, led by the most powerful Minister of his generation, have in the last ten years conspicuously failed in their efforts in that direction. Home Rule statesmen, indeed, and our author are not at one in their objects. His ideas are not their ideas; nor his plans their plans. But they have this in common—that they all involve the complete abrogation of the parliamentary system of government, such as, with all its many changes, we have always known it in this kingdom. Probably when Mr. Spalding's constitution for the United Kingdom has been accepted, he will turn his attention to constitution-building for the British Empire as a whole, and the promise suggested by his resounding title may at length be fulfilled.

The inhabitants of the British Islands are, in our author's opinion, endeavouring to live under what Professor Dicey has well called a Unitarian Constitution, when, in truth and in fact, the United Kingdom consists of a number of 'States.' Did the Constitution coincide with the facts of the case, England, Scotland, and Ireland would be united federally, each with its own local executive government and

local assembly, whilst the legislative and administrative business common to the three kingdoms would be performed by a Parliament and Executive at Westminster. The Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 'attempted to create a quasi-'federation which was altogether amorphous and illogical.'* The former bill excluded the Irish members from Parliament, and would have established 'a mock federation' (p. 297); and the latter, first of all, included them for special purposes by the 'in and out clause,' and then, in its latter form, for all purposes. This difficulty as to the Irish members proved fatal to Gladstonian Home Rule in any form, and in whichever of the three possible ways it was attempted to meet it. Lord Derby, with admirable clearness, and other leading Unionist statesmen, explained all this ten years ago, and hence Mr. Spalding's devotion of a whole chapter to elucidate the same matter now lacks freshness in the eyes of those who have previously ventured to question, with almost wearisome reiteration on this and other grounds, the merits of those two very remarkable efforts of modern constructive statesmanship. The Unionist statesmen, however, came to the conclusion that the impossibility of Home Rule rendered necessary the continuance of the parliamentary union of the three kingdoms in a single Parliament, whilst our author concludes that 'the movements of 1886 and 1893 'were made down the wrong road,'† and that the real solution of the question lies in the frank acceptance of federation, or 'Home Rule all round.'

In Mr. Spalding's eyes the Parliament of the United Kingdom is merely an 'English' Parliament, because the Scotch members, or the Irish members, or both together, are less numerous than the English members. 'Although 'we talk of the union with Scotland and Ireland,' says Mr. Spalding, 'there was no union of Parliaments. The 'Scotch and Irish Parliaments were destroyed, and Scotland 'and Ireland were permitted to send representatives to sit 'in the English House of Lords and House of Commons.'‡ The extraordinary arrogance of this ultra-English pretension can only be matched by its absurdity. The Acts of Union prove the precise contrary of Mr. Spalding's proposition. In 1707 a *British* Parliament took the place of the English and the Scotch Parliaments. In 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom took the place of the Parliaments of Great

* Federation and Empire, p. 276.
† *Ibid.* p. 302. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 10.

Britain and of Ireland. According to this peculiar reasoning the Parliament of the country which has the fewest representatives is *extinguished*, and that of the country possessing a majority of representatives alone *survives*, when amalgamation of the two Assemblies takes place. In fact, there can be no 'union,' and nothing but the extinction of one Parliament and the survival of the other, unless each country contributes precisely the same number of representatives to the new Assembly. For the most powerful nation, had it only a majority of one, would always have the other at its mercy! According to our author, 'the Scotch and Irish representatives are in an absolute and hopeless minority in the United Parliament, and the English Parliament undertook the duty of legislating for each of the three nations separately upon all those questions which most closely touch their social life and well-being' (p. 12). The Union was thus a violent infringement of the constitutional principles of 1688. The People was thereafter to be governed with the consent only of itself as represented in Parliament. Arbitrary enactions, royal proclamations, were no longer to take the place of the laws made by the People. Yet in 1896 we learn from Mr. Spalding with surprise and alarm that 'Scotland is liable at any moment to be subjected to a law which, so far as she is concerned, is merely a parliamentary proclamation.'

'Stands Scotland where it did?
Alas, poor country!
Almost afraid to know itself. . . .'*

A moment's reflection, however, will show Scotchmen that, if slaves, they are slaves in good company, for the same 'servile chains' weigh down not merely the Irish and the Welsh, but the people of London, the inhabitants of the County Palatine of Lancaster, and of every locality for which laws are made by its own representatives in conjunction with the more numerous representatives of other and larger localities. Had Scotland a separate Parliament, the Highlands might be governed against the will of its representatives by a 'parliamentary proclamation' from Edinburgh. Had Ireland a separate Parliament, Ulster might in the same way be at the mercy of the arbitrary rule of College Green. However matters are arranged, we are afraid that Mr. Spalding's grand constitutional doctrine must receive some qualification. 'The doctrine that lies at the base of con-

* Macbeth.

'stitutional government is that no law shall be enforceable 'without the consent of the majority of those who will be 'affected by it' (p. 87). The only people affected by the Crofters Acts are the people living in the 'crofter counties.' Should such laws be made solely by the majority of the people of those counties? Acts of Parliament have often been passed, the operations of which have been limited to particular districts, where they have not of necessity been always popular. Is this an infringement of the Constitution? We had thought it was a principle of the Constitution that Queen, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled governed the *whole* realm. We wonder whether a majority of those whose estates will be affected by the death duties consented to their imposition? If not, are those duties constitutionally 'enforceable'? Mr. Spalding will do well to revise his 'doctrines,' for as they stand they are hardly more 'constitutional' than royal proclamations!

Let us explain the scheme of Mr. Spalding's book. To him Parliament as we know it seems a hopeless failure. It neglects the *general* business of the United Kingdom and the Empire in order to be able to perform the separate 'State' business of its component parts. It ought to be debating foreign politics, or colonial or Indian affairs, when it is passing laws for England, or Scotland, or Ireland, or debating matters which affect only one or other, and not the whole, of these countries. When a member addresses his constituents, a very small portion of his remarks are addressed to subjects of Imperial interest. In the eyes of an intelligent spectator the 'business of Parliament' 'seems 'an incomprehensible muddle.' Owing to the extreme pressure of local requirements, Parliament is suffering from 'partial paralysis.' Between 1850 and 1860 this over-pressure was first felt, and elaborate tables and diagrams are presented to prove that this is caused, to a great extent, by—

'the increasing demands made by England, Scotland, and Ireland for separate attention, and more especially by the needs of England; and not only have the interests of each country suffered on account of this over-pressure, but also those vast joint and Imperial interests which are involved in foreign relations and colonial affairs have been perforce neglected.' (P. 18.)

This is all the fault of our 'one united' Parliament and of the policy of the Acts of 1707 and 1800. At those dates, and in each case, temporary causes may, it is admitted, have necessitated the incorporating Union which was adopted, but in the changed circumstances of the present day the system

has broken down, and to the establishment of a federal relation between the three countries we must turn for a remedy.

Mr. Spalding is vehement against the doctrine that a member of Parliament under our present system represents not merely the locality which sends him there, but also the whole nation. This, he thinks, was intelligible doctrine as regards an English member before 1707; but the two Unions have made the doctrine inapplicable in modern parliaments, and now members come to Westminster almost with the sole object of obtaining benefits for their own 'State.' The Scotch member in 1708 said to himself that 'it was his business to safeguard the interests of Scotland 'under the Act of Union . . . to get Acts passed for the 'benefit of Scotland, which two years ago he would have 'got from his own Parliament;' and this change in parliamentary sentiment was accentuated when Irish members took their place in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. To the best of our belief, this view of the provincial functions of the modern member of Parliament does not prevail either amongst English or Scotch members, or in the constituencies that elect them. Scotchmen come to Westminster in part for the purpose of taking their share in the government of Great Britain, and not merely in order to gain advantages for Scotland. Mr. Spalding appears to be incapable of realising that it is of some importance to Scotland that England should be well governed, or that legislation in force only from the Tweed to the Land's End may in the least degree concern the interests of Scotchmen. To exclude Scotchmen from taking a share in the 'legislative and 'debating functions' of Parliament, so far as England is concerned, is to provincialise Scotland, and to warn her off, so to speak, from any 'meddling' in the chief interests of this island. That has not hitherto been the Scottish view of the position of Scotchmen in Great Britain.

We must now turn to the tables and the diagrams which are said to prove, first, the ever-growing incapacity of Parliament to attend effectually either to the general or the separate business of the three kingdoms; secondly, that this incapacity is caused by the impossibility of our present Constitution meeting either the administrative necessities or supplying the legislative wants of what is, in fact, a federation of different 'States.' But before inquiring into this matter, let us first call attention to Mr. Spalding's view of the Union of 1707, for this colours all his reasoning as to its subsequent working. Our author sees before 1707 two

nations—the English and the Scotch—full of 'mutual 'hatred.' There was 'no sense of common interests' to bring them together. A Scotch national necessity, the necessity for Free Trade, brought Scotland, and the dread of danger from Scotland's breaking off the English connexion entirely, brought England into a mutually hateful Union. The Scotch had sold their national independence for trading advantages, and 'as Esau probably resented 'continual reminders of the sale of his birthright for a mess 'of pottage,' so Scotland was irritated by the post-Union policy of the British Parliament, 'which never allowed her to 'forget her lost independence.' The real foundation of the Union was 'mutual antipathy.' Even the delightful wailings of Andrew Fairservice are called as evidence of the severity with which the iron of subjection had entered into the Scottish soul. Undoubtedly there was much true feeling of regret amongst Scotchmen for the departed glories of their separate nationhood, sentiments which were carefully fanned by the Jacobite faction, whose object was to embroil the two countries, and by reviving the old alliance between France and Scotland to overthrow the results of the revolution of 1688. But real independent nationhood was lost, not in 1707, but in 1603, when the Scottish king united to his old hereditary dominions the kingdoms of England and Ireland. As a matter of fact, the Act of Union was the work of wise statesmen in both countries, and was due to a strong sense amongst thinking people that it was for the mutual advantage of both. The Scottish determination to unite only on terms of trade equality, and, rather than join in a Union upon terms of inferiority to Englishmen, to alter the succession to the Crown by the Act of Security, and so to revive the separate nationhood of Scotland, was worthy of a proud and courageous people. On the other hand, the stand made by the English statesmen for an 'incorporating' Union justified their prescience that through the medium of a single Parliament governing the whole island a real sense of common citizenship would in time grow up. The anticipations of statesmen in 1707, and their hopes for many years previously, have been singularly justified by the course of British history for a period of now nearly two centuries. Yet there are still some amongst us who can see only in that wise and beneficent measure a mean surrender of national rights on the one part, and on the other an almost cowardly avoidance of a great and pressing danger. The history of two hundred years has taught Scotchmen, though perhaps not Mr. Spald-

ing, to see in 'the sad and sorrowfu' Union' of Andrew Fairservice the most beneficial measure that Scotland has ever known.

It is to the history of Parliament since that date that Mr. Spalding's tables and statistics are applicable. Parliament has, he says, two functions to perform—that of legislating, and that of debating in the process of controlling administration,—and he observes with truth that the amount of time devoted to the one function necessarily reduces the time available for the performance of the other.

'The work in each branch is susceptible of analysis. We can determine how many Acts of Parliament, passed in any one year, apply to the whole of the United Kingdom, and how many affect only the interests of its component parts. We can also determine by the help of "Hansard," with less rigid but nevertheless approximate accuracy, how many debates took place which were conducted for some purposes other than the direct promotion of legislation, and what proportion of them related to the United Kingdom and to each component State. These two analyses will furnish the information which we seek; the solid basis of fact upon which conclusions may be founded with safety, instead of the shifting sand of speculation and of theory.'

In pursuance of this purpose an analysis of legislation is given between 1707 and 1800, and between 1801 and 1890, and an analysis of debates for the latter period, i.e. since the Irish Union; and to diminish the risk of the results being vitiated by exceptional years, the numbers have been averaged over a space of ten years for each year.

Between 1688 and 1696 the Parliament of Scotland passed, we are told, an average of 16·6 public general statutes per annum, and between 1696 and 1707 an average of 5·9 statutes per annum. In the first decade after the Union of 1707, Parliament passed an annual average of 16·0 British, or, to use Mr. Spalding's term, Federal, statutes—12·3 purely English, and 2·2 purely Scotch. In the last years before 1801, these figures had become 81·0 Federal, 90·5 English, and 17·5 Scotch. The figures are given in tables for each decade from 1707 to 1800. The subject is similarly treated after 1800. Comparing the decade 1821–30 (being the first after the amalgamation of the British and Irish Exchequers, when, of course, separate money bills for Ireland ceased) with the decade 1881–90, we find the figures given as follows:—1821–30: Federal (United Kingdom) statutes, 34·4; British, 7·0; England and Ireland, 1·2; England, 25·2; Scotland, 6·3; Ireland, 19·5. 1881–90:

Federal statutes, 29·0; British, 1·0; England and Ireland, 3·6; England, 57·7; Scotland, 9·2; Ireland, 18·4.

How small, exclaims Mr. Spalding, is the amount of 'Federal' legislation, how large the amount of 'States' legislation! Averaging the results of the last seven decades, he finds that less than a third of our legislation has been for the United Kingdom (p. 51). Moreover, 'The average 'of "Federal" legislation has been decreasing since 1820, 'whilst the average of "States" legislation has, on the 'whole, increased.' It is clear, he says, 'that after the 'lapse of seventy years the possibility of "Federal" legisla-'tion has decreased. The Union of 1800 has not, therefore, 'made for unity in law.' Great is his triumph over Professor Dicey. 'With such a series of figures before us,' says Mr. Spalding, 'we are able to estimate at its proper 'value the political dogma that it is the acknowledged duty 'of members of the House of Commons to consult for the 'interests of the whole nation, and not to safeguard the 'interests of particular localities or countries.' Now in the name of common sense, what does this mean? Surely it was the acknowledged duty of Mr. Gladstone and other Scotch and English members, in supporting the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, a 'State' Bill, to consider the interests of the *whole* nation, as well as of Ireland, and of Irish members not to blind themselves to the general interest by looking only at their own. The other conclusion drawn from these statistics is that English 'State' legislation has increased to the detriment of Scotch and Irish 'State' legislation.

A similar examination is made into the exercise by Parliament of its 'debating' function, and the number of Federal, English, Scotch, and Irish debates is arranged in columns, so as to show the number of each class taking the annual average of each decade since the Irish Union; and the conclusion is arrived at that the debating power of Parliament has been more and more concentrated upon 'States' questions. There was, it seems,

'a decrease in the total of "States" discussions during the two decades 1841–60; a decrease accounted for entirely by the cessation of the pressure of Irish debates. Those decades include a period of lull in the story of Irish discontent, as it is told in the records of Parliament—a lull which was due, not to any diminution of Irish discontent, but to the fact that it was very meagrely represented in the House of Commons.' (P. 72.)

Curiously enough, though the fact is not noticed by Mr. Spalding, in these same two decades, when Ireland was so

meagrely represented, the annual average of Irish 'State' legislation appears to have been higher than at any previous or subsequent period since the amalgamation of the Exchequers.

We confess we think these elaborate tables and statistics of very little value. As a matter of fact, what is the real meaning of this distinction between 'Federal' and 'States' statutes, between 'Federal' and 'States' debates, upon which such portentous conclusions are founded? In a very large number of cases it is merely a question of convenience, whether to pass a law for Great Britain in one statute applicable to the whole, or in two portions, one for England, another for Scotland. So with regard to laws applicable to the United Kingdom, it is a question of convenience whether one statute, two statutes, or three statutes are to be preferred. Reform Acts, for instance, have been passed separately for England and Scotland.* Therefore, in the reckoning of the tables, these are 'States' statutes. Other statutes are made applicable to England and Scotland by means of a definition clause, as that in Scotland 'County Court Judge' means 'Sheriff,' 'Chairman of County Council' means 'Convener,' 'High Court of Justice' means 'Court of Session,' 'London Gazette' means 'Edinburgh Gazette,' and so forth. Therefore, in the reckoning of the tables, these are 'Federal statutes.' Probably most Scottish legal practitioners and representatives think this latter method a clumsy way of legislating, and prefer to have their own statutes passed in separate Acts, and no doubt this is one reason for the growth of 'States' as compared with 'Federal' statutes. We do not for a moment believe that English and Scotch 'States' legislation is tending in substance to diverge, and no evidence of this can be given without not merely *counting* statutes, but examining their contents as well. Mr. Spalding makes no attempt to do this. Yet without statistics it may be stated almost as a matter of common knowledge, that it has become increasingly impossible with a great deal of legislation to attempt to treat England and Scotland differently. It would have been quite impossible to pass, say, a 'Ground Game Act,' a 'Compensation for Improvements Act,' a 'Free Education Act,' a 'Bank Holiday Act,' an 'Allotments Act,' or most of the other Acts affecting 'the social life and well-being of the people,' for England

* On the last occasion, however, of a 'Representation of the People Act,' a new departure was made, and the three kingdoms were dealt with in the same Act of Parliament.

and not for Scotland, or *vice versâ*. By 'Federal' or by 'States' statutes, it matters not a jot which, the united Parliament applies them to both kingdoms; and thus the United Parliament does, Mr. Spalding notwithstanding, tend to unity in law.

When, however, the statistical method is extended from *statutes*, which, though they are not read, can at least be counted, to *debates*, the conclusions arrived at become inconceivably shadowy. 'What,' pertinently inquires Mr. Spalding, 'is a debate?' It must be remembered that the legislative function of the House of Commons is considered separately, and therefore the debates in question exclude those which have taken place when the House was attempting to legislate. 'The line between a mere conversation, or a 'verbal skirmish, and a set debate cannot be rigidly drawn' (p. 65), and thus judgement must be exercised in the selection of 'debates' for our statistics. 'Hansard' was not as complete a record of parliamentary proceedings in 1800 as it is to-day. Discussions upon all motions and amendments not connected with Bills are 'debates' for our present purpose; and as Mr. Spalding considers that even on Bills amendments to motions on going into Committee, and motions for 'instructions' to Committee, are almost always 'obstructive,' 'debates' on these occasions, as well as on motions for leave to bring in Bills —which he thinks superfluous—are reckoned as 'debates,' and not as parliamentary proceedings in the furtherance of legislation. Thus, Mr. Gladstone's great speech introducing the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and the subsequent discussion, are not counted as part of the debate on the Bill, but as conversation unconnected with the legislative work of the House of Commons.

But when, having grasped a proper conception of 'debates,' within the meaning of the Tables of Statistics, we turn our attention to the distinction between a 'Federal' and a 'States' debate, darkness once more settles upon our investigations. A 'States debate' is a 'debate' which concerns the affairs of a particular 'State.' So we are told. But this is just where the difficulty comes in. Miss Cass is alleged to have been wrongfully arrested by hired myrmidons of the law in Regent Street. The rights and liberty of the subject have been invaded, and English, Irish, and Scotch members burn with equal indignation. Or a riot takes place, let us suppose, between the officers of the law and the people in Skye. Are debates on such subjects as these 'States' or 'Federal' debates? Is the first a purely English

debate because Regent Street is in London, and the latter a purely Scotch debate because Skye is in Scotland? Is the liberty of the subject in London of no importance to Scotchmen or Irishmen—one of those matters with which in an ideal constitution they would have no right to meddle? How is it possible, with the best intentions in the world, to build up statistics of any value upon such an arbitrary selection of facts? The fact is that Parliament in criticising and controlling the executive does not show the slightest tendency to act upon a 'State' theory of its functions. It considers itself, and rightly, as the supreme judge of administration in every part of the kingdom. And the attempt to distinguish between Federal and State debates is vain. The distinction is entirely artificial and unreal.

According to Mr. Spalding's version of Scottish history, it was not till the end of last century that the period of resistance by Scotchmen to the national subjection established by the Act of Union came to an end. In his mind the Scottish people in the eighteenth century were evidently identified with those Highland clans who obeyed the commands of their Jacobite chiefs. A study of Mr. Mackinnon's work, and of the history of Mr. John Hill Burton, would set him right on such matters as these. He is on firmer ground when he asserts that, for some years after 1707, the Government of Great Britain was greatly to blame for the recklessness with which it gave offence to Scottish national feeling, thereby unfortunately checking the growth of that sense of common citizenship which it was the object of the statesmen of 1707 to promote. He is also right in stating that by the close of the century all hostile feeling between the two nations had died out, and that the political discontent of that period had nothing to do with Scotch and English antipathy, but was founded on British dissatisfaction with the policy of the British Government.

The first half of the present century, Mr. Spalding tells us, was a 'period of acquiescence' on the part of Scotland with the Union settlement, though national feeling flamed high once more in 1826, when it was proposed to abolish what he describes as the 'horrible Scotch 1*l.* note.' The 'greasy currency' (p. 145) was happily rescued from Southern attack by this outbreak of Scottish patriotism, and till 1850 the period of acquiescence was otherwise undisturbed. From that year to the present time there has been an ever-growing feeling of uneasiness in Scotland. A cry for an increase of members, which has been satisfied, was

followed by a cry for a 'Minister for Scotland,' which has also been satisfied; and now, as the twentieth century is almost dawning, the Scottish people have made up their minds that what is needed is the separation once more of the Legislatures of England and Scotland, each Legislature having the control of its own separate National Executive. Before we examine the elaborate constitution offered us by our English Abbé Sieyes, let us inquire into the evidence of the alleged Scottish demand for the repeal of the principal article of the Act of Union of 1707—viz. the article which established a single Parliament for the whole of Great Britain.

At the last Reform Act Scotland obtained an addition of twelve members to its representation in the House of Commons, and, by virtue of statutes passed in 1885 and 1887, a Scottish Secretary was established, to whom was transferred almost the whole Scottish business previously administered, along with English business, by various British departments. Before this legislation the conduct of Scotch business in the House of Commons was in the hands of the Lord Advocate, and it was thought in Scotland that if a minister with Cabinet rank were for the future entrusted with Scotch business, the much-complained-of neglect of Scotch parliamentary business would no longer be felt. Thus the Scotch were successful in each case in getting their demands satisfied. Not, indeed, as Mr. Spalding inaccurately but repeatedly observes, was a Scotch 'Secretary 'of State' created, for no such official now exists; but a Scotch 'Secretary,' to whom have been transferred very large powers hitherto exercised by the Home Secretary and other Ministers, now conducts business of very various kinds relating to Scotland, and during the last and the present Government the 'Secretary' has been a member of the Cabinet. These changes were, as Mr. Spalding says, 'in fact an administrative revolution.' They have, nevertheless, been very cordially accepted, even by those who at the time opposed their adoption, the present Scottish Secretary—Lord Balfour—having in 1888 taken the principal part in rejecting the proposals of the Government to give effect to them. Still, they are administrative changes only, and therefore of a kind absolutely distinct from those which, according to Mr. Spalding, the Scottish people are now demanding.

A speech in the House of Commons in 1872, by the late Sir David Wedderburn, is quoted as the commencement of the modern claim. 'Would,' said the speaker, 'that Scot-'land was like the Isle of Man!' (p. 164). Mr. Gladstone,

however, at that time characteristically 'feared that the sub-'ject was not yet ripe;' and he went so far as to express strong disapproval 'of any division of the interests of the 'three kingdoms.' In 1877 the late Sir George Campbell called attention to the neglect of Scotch business; but no further debate took place even remotely connected with a demand for a Scottish Legislature till in 1887 a rambling amendment to the Address was moved inviting Lord Salisbury's Government to introduce measures for relegating Scotch and other local affairs to local representative bodies. This proposal was not seriously regarded either in or out of Scotland, or in the House of Commons, and could hardly have been seriously intended by its supporters. Two years later a motion was made by Mr. Clarke and supported by Dr. Hunter in favour of establishing a 'national Parliament' for Scotland,* which was to have full control over a Scottish executive government. It was, of course, rejected. Every year since 1889 this subject has been raised and debated, and now† 'for seven years Federation has been the settled 'policy of the majority of the Scotch members—the only 'method by which, in their opinion, the burden of Scotland 'can be removed.'

This formidable conclusion we are led to believe has been arrived at by the Scotch people by slow degrees. 'Acqui-'escence' with the Union ended about 1850, and ever since the sense of the failure of the 'incorporating' Union of 1707 has been gradually borne in upon the Scottish mind, till in the present day nothing will satisfy it short of the substitution for the United Kingdom of a 'Federal' for a 'Unitarian' Constitution. Mr. Spalding is singularly reticent as to the names of those Scotchmen who have urged upon their countrymen so far-reaching a policy. The patriotic aspirations and emotions of that people have, during the last quarter of a century, apparently been 'voiced' by the late Sir David Wedderburn, the late Sir George Campbell, and Professor Hunter, of Aberdeen. We are told of no great meetings in Edinburgh or in Glasgow, or in any part of Scotland, to advocate the cause. We are told of debates on the Address in an empty or somnolent House of Commons, and sad reference is made to the frequency with which patriotic exertions to restore to Scotland its ancient dignity have been rendered abortive by the slackness of seventy-two Scotch members in maintaining a

* Hansard, vol. 335, c. 68. † Federation and Empire, p. 173.

House of Commons quorum of forty. Votes and speeches, not less than statutes, deserve to be weighed as well as counted. Surely, till the advocacy of the separation of the Scotch and English Legislatures has been taken up by Scotchmen who have the ear of their countrymen, and who stand high in their esteem for political sagacity, it is vain to talk of the eager desire of the Scotch people for such a momentous change in the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, are the ways in which history is written. We have no doubt that Mr. Spalding is absolutely sincere and conscientious in his laboured reasonings to prove the gradual yet steady progress of opinion in Scotland towards the demand for a Scottish Parliament. According to him, from 1850 to 1896 there has been one continuous movement, based upon *Scottish* considerations, towards this result. It is accounted for and justified in the tables, diagrams, and statistics of his work. Yet it is a matter of absolute certainty and it is common knowledge that no sane man in Scotland for the last century and a half ever dreamt of reviving a Scottish Parliament till the discussions on the Irish Home Rule Bill of 1886 had involved a political party in argumentative meshes, out of which a system of Federalism afforded the only logical escape. Let the facts of the case be plainly stated. The demand for Scotch Home Rule is not of home growth. It has not been caused by the pressure of Scottish interests or Scottish feeling. The constitutional system of Scotland is to be turned upside down in order to forward an Irish and not a Scottish policy—in the interests of a mere party necessity which compels the alliance of a British minority with an Irish Home Rule vote.

We have dealt with the Scotch case at some length, because it is there that Mr. Spalding thinks that he can find the strongest arguments for the adoption of a 'federal-' ising' policy; but we should misrepresent his work if we left out of sight his contention that the 'burden' imposed on England by the two incorporating Unions is also a very heavy one. It was, however, not till the Parliament of 1892–1895 that England gave articulate expression to its perception of 'the burden.' Lord Salisbury spoke of a 'Celtic fringe.' Professor Dicey has suggested that the local representative in Parliament should not allow his local sentiments to overpower the sense of the duty which he owes to the nation as a whole:—

'Mark the absurd dilemma upon the horns of which the advocates of the present system impale themselves. When Irish and Scotch

members exercise their undoubted constitutional right to vote upon English "State" questions, they are confronted by the majestic form of the Prime Minister, who assures them that they are merely Celtic fringes, and exhorts them to content themselves with endeavouring to unravel their own tangles, and not to attempt to meddle with affairs that do not concern them. If the good folk take heed to this precept, and endeavour to obey it, a learned Oxford professor starts up and points out to them that they are acting in a shockingly unconstitutional manner, because it is not their duty "to safeguard the interests of particular countries." Between the politician and the professor, what are the poor fellows to do? They must not interfere with English affairs because they are merely Celtic fringes; they must not confine themselves to their national interests because that is grossly unconstitutional. The result of the two doctrines appears to be what I have already indicated—namely, that Scotch and Irish members should content themselves with voting Supplies, and taking part in that important but somewhat uninteresting section of business which has been termed Federal, and that they should surrender the control of their own State affairs to the management of England. "What union could we have with Great Britain but a union of debt and taxation?" exclaimed an Irish member towards the end of the last century. It would seem as if such a union were the ideal of some modern statesmen.' *

It would be a waste of time to comment upon this passage. Perhaps there is as little need for discussing Mr. Spalding's curious contention that it is right that Ireland should have in the House of Commons a representation exceeding by twenty members the number to which an equal population of Englishmen would be entitled. Doubtless our readers will remember that Mr. Gladstone argued some years ago that remoteness from the metropolis afforded a claim for higher proportionate representation at Westminster; so that the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, and the West of Ireland would properly send a larger proportionate number of members to the House of Commons than Bedford, or Brighton, or Kent. But Mr. Spalding proceeds on different reasoning. It is, if we understand him rightly, simply *because* Irishmen are *fewer* than Englishmen, not because they live at a greater distance from Westminster, that they should enjoy preferential treatment. In limited liability companies means are taken to prevent the swamping of small shareholders by large ones; and so

'in a partnership of nations, the small partners have an undoubted right to be protected against the overwhelming vote of the large one. This protection is afforded in the most practical manner by the system of making the constituencies of England contain a larger number of

* Federation and Empire, p. 121.

electors than those of Scotland and Ireland. It diminishes the voting power of the predominant partner. 'The facts which have been already adduced prove that a reduction of the voting power of the United Kingdom to one common value would, under our present Constitution, be an act of tyranny perpetrated under the name of justice.' (P. 124)

'Is not one man as good as another?' a democratic candidate once triumphantly demanded of a sympathetic audience. 'Of course he is, and better too!' came the prompt reply from an Irishman in the crowd, who with his native wit at once seized the true principle upon which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Spalding are anxious to build. To an ordinary mind the fact that every seven thousand Irishmen have a representative in the joint Parliament, whilst it requires ten thousand Englishmen to have the same privilege, seems unjust to England. Yet it is one of those 'burdens' resulting from the incorporating Union of 1800, which, as we have seen, Mr. Spalding has no intention of 'lifting.' It is a question chiefly between England and Ireland, for the Scotch have obtained representation proportionate to their numbers, and never dreamed of that Irish principle upon which they are entitled to more. Mr. Spalding imagines, oddly enough, that Unionist statesmen regard the 'sacro-sanct Acts of Union' as laws which must never be touched. Both Acts have, of course, on several occasions been amended with general approval; and it is due to an alteration of the Act of Union that the Scotch members have been increased from forty-five to seventy-two, and proportionately increased as compared with the representation of England. Is it only as against England that such changes can legitimately be made?

Of the 'burden of Ireland' due to the Act of 1800 we need hardly speak here. For the last ten years it has been the object of one of the great parties of the kingdom to insist upon the grievances by that statute inflicted upon Irishmen; and it is sometimes forgotten how much more grievously before than after the Union the Irish suffered from the English connexion. That there are any differences of character between Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, beyond what have been caused by the laws to which they have been subjected, Mr. Spalding vehemently denies. The Lowland Scots of the middle of the last century showed, he declares, exactly the same individual characteristics as the Irish peasants of to-day. And if this is so, a captious critic might suggest that people so entirely similar might surely live best under the same political system and the same laws.

Why split up into three States those whom the difference of political treatment has hitherto alone caused to differ?

Mr. Spalding's conclusions from his elaborate inquiry into the working of our existing Constitution it is best to give in his own words:—

'1. That Parliament, through over-pressure of business, has been since about 1850 incapable of transacting efficiently all the legislative and administrative business which is demanded of it.

'2. That this over-pressure has resulted from the increasing demands for separate legislation and administration by England, Scotland, and Ireland, and more especially for the separate demands of England.

'3. That these separate demands still tend to increase, to the injury not only of the interests of each State, but of Imperial interests.

'4. That the injury to Imperial interests affects more especially those which relate to foreign and colonial affairs.

'5. That the working of the present system is sapping the fundamental doctrine of all constitutional and democratic government—namely, that all laws shall be assented to by the majority of the representatives of those who will be compelled to obey them.

'6. That it tends to divest members of Parliament of responsibility to their constituents.

'7. That it tends to encourage the formation of small political groups in Parliament.

'8. That each nation is to a greater or less degree conscious of these disadvantages, or of some of them, and is seeking, with more or less definiteness of aim, to escape from them.

'9. That the causes which brought about the incorporating Union did not originate in the permanent desires or needs of the incorporated States.' (P. 223.)

How, then, can these 'burdens' upon each of the three 'nations' be removed? How can the House of Commons regain the capacity it possessed before 1850 of giving ample and efficient attention to Imperial legislation and administration, to the foreign relations of the kingdom, to the colonies, and to India? The answer is, by adopting a system of federation for what is *in fact* not one State, but a federation of three States. In the United Kingdom there are to be four representative assemblies—the House of Commons as it at present exists, and a National Assembly of a single chamber, elected in the same fashion and upon the same franchise, for England, for Scotland, and for Ireland, sitting respectively in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. Each State Assembly is to have full control of its own State Executive, and to have the power to legislate upon its own State affairs. Each is to have its cabinet, consisting of a president of the Local Government Board, a president of the Board of Trade,

a minister of agriculture, possibly a fourth minister to superintend railways, canals and inland traffic, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'Each minister would be provided 'with a separate department, and the control of those de-'partments must necessarily fall to the State Assembly' (p. 323). These changes in our Constitution appear to Mr. Spalding to be in themselves quite slight modifications of the present system, and might quite conceivably have been self-developed from it. Far be from us to set a limit to the power of 'evolution'—that *Deus ex machina* of the nineteenth century—but we may, perhaps, be allowed to point out that to remove from the Parliament at Westminster the power of making laws for the 'State' of England, or for the 'State' of Scotland, or for the 'State' of Ireland, and to take away from it the power of choosing and controlling those who govern these 'States,' whilst it would doubtless leave to the House of Commons ample leisure for 'Imperial' business, might go dangerously near to leaving it ultimately a mere 'rudimentary organ' of the Constitution remaining to tell future generations of a once active past.

Federalism is really not very different in principle from our present system, says Mr. Spalding, and might have grown quite naturally out of it. English, Scotch, and Irish members might have mutually agreed to attend only to the business of their own 'States,' and to absent themselves on other non-Imperial occasions from the House of Commons, and so a constitutional custom would have arisen. The practice might then have grown up for these meetings of States' members to take place in their respective capital cities, and a further stage would have been reached when the conviction grew

> 'that the efficiency of Parliament would be further increased if it were not compulsory that the States representatives should also be federal representatives. At this point constitutional legislation would have to be passed creating States' Assemblies and defining their powers in more or less general terms.' . . . Thus 'we should have arrived, by a process of evolution, at a system of government which presented all the essential advantages of Federation, and which did not involve the creation either of a written constitution or of a constituent assembly which should limit the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament.' (P. 253.)

We have no space to go into the discussion by Mr. Spalding of the constitutional position taken up by Mr. Dicey; and it seems to us entirely unnecessary to do so, as that

position remains both unshaken and unassailable. It is perfectly clear that a constitution, either arrived at by this imagined process of 'developement,' or the direct creation of an Act of Parliament, would, unless put under the protection, and made subject to the interpretation, of some independent authority, be constitutionally entirely at the mercy of the Imperial Parliament; and there can be no 'true 'Federation' where the separate 'States' have no independence of, and no constitutional rights against, the Federation. It may well be that, with regard to the 'State' of England at least, the facts would not correspond with the theory, and that a 'State' *in theory* entirely subject to the Sovereign Parliament at Westminster might show itself, in the event of difference, in fact, too strong to be treated as a subject State by its constitutional Sovereign; the result being, of course, confusion.

Mr. Spalding, as we have seen, allows no written constitution, nor judicial authority, to protect State rights. Yet he reserves to the House of Lords the function—*and the sole function*—of remitting to the House of Commons such State Bills as appear to trench upon federal ground. When it is satisfied that a States Bill does not exceed the powers of the 'States' Assembly, the House of Lords is to be *functus officio*, and is to have no power of amending or rejecting the Bill on its merits (p. 306). Thus legislation, whether State or Federal, is to be the function of unicameral legislatures—a system which hitherto has not been adopted by any people that could be looked upon as affording an example to this country.

'It will be seen,' continues Mr. Spalding, 'that thus, by a very slight constitutional change, a system having all the advantages of Federation might be evolved out of our present form of government. . . . The States Assemblies would be, in fact, mere offshoots of the House of Commons for the purpose of dealing with particular States questions.

To us the changes in the Constitution involved in Mr. Spalding's plan appear to be not inconsiderable, to say the least; and how can the States Assemblies, separately elected by each State, be considered offshoots of an Imperial House of Commons with which they are entirely unconnected? The financial arrangements proposed, it is not very easy to follow. The State Chancellor of the Exchequer is to frame the State budget, and to have under his control the State excise, whilst the customs are to be reserved for the Federal Government; but 'all taxes are to be federal, and to be col-

'lected by the Imperial Government,' which will pay into the State exchequer the sum required for State administration; and it is claimed for this system that it will involve but slight change in existing financial arrangements.

Perhaps our readers may not take the same view as Mr. Spalding of the slight nature of the proposed changes in the Constitution. But, after all, the great question is not as to the magnitude of the suggested alterations, but as to whether they are improvements at all; and indeed whether, in the words of Carlyle, the new Constitution will 'march.' It is with some diffidence that we approach this question, for suggestions of the dangers and difficulties that seem likely to arise are said to be based upon 'prophecy,' against which arguments beat in vain. 'Its baselessness can only 'be proved by experience.' But surely foresight is given us in order to save us the unpleasant necessity of proving our disasters 'by experience.' And it may be humbly asked, seeing that a constitution has been invented for us such as no nation in ancient or in modern times has ever made trial of, whether its patentee can dispense altogether with 'prophecy' in pressing its merits upon the public? He himself—though he does not share the fears of others—thinks that 'safeguards' may not altogether unreasonably be asked for. It is, he thinks, 'con-'ceivable' that in Ireland, before the healing effect of the new Constitution had had time to work, the State Legislature might demand control over some matter essentially federal, and it is, he grants, not altogether foolishness to fear that the Protestant minority in Ulster might be oppressed by the Dublin Parliament. In short, there may be a real 'danger lest the Irish State Assembly should so 'act as to offend the English and Scotch notions of justice 'and decency;' and lest, with regard to any of the States, a conflict should arise between the Federal and States executives inimical to good government. What safeguards should, then, be taken against those conceivably possible risks? Simply to make the first step towards Federation a very short one. Non-contentious business, in the first instance, should alone be delegated; together with private bill legislation, 'local administration, traffic, the poor law, 'and internal trade.' These are safeguards, indeed, as they amount to a denial to the 'States' of almost the whole of those affairs with which it was the great end of Federation to entrust to them.

Thus the first step to the grand Federation of the future

is to be something which bears a resemblance to the so-called 'Gas and Water Bill' Home Rule, which played a humble part at the last General Election. Very many Unionists have long favoured the delegation of private bill legislation to local tribunals; and, indeed, it is only by a Unionist Administration that such proposals have been made. Unionists also are, generally speaking, very ready to consider projects for further developing local self-government in the three countries by building upon the local representative bodies which now perform the administrative local business of England, Scotland, and Ireland. But the proposal to substitute three National Parliaments, with executive and legislative authority, in each of the three 'States,' for the Parliament of the United Kingdom, is a very different matter, and, as Mr. Spalding himself perceives, must be based upon the principle that the United Kingdom is *in fact* an aggregation of different States, and that its people do not constitute one nation.

It is a peculiarity of the proposed first step towards the new Constitution that no one wants to take it. Neither England nor Scotland wishes to approach the ultimate goal of Federation, and Irish members have again and again declared that it is useless to offer to Ireland anything less than Mr. Gladstone has offered her. England does not wish to be 'a State.' Scotland does not really hanker after the dignity of the Isle of Man. No Irish Home Ruler ever speaks in Ireland of the Irish claim to State rights. Wales, the only part of the kingdom which might, perhaps, aspire to the position of 'a State,' is by Mr. Spalding left entirely out of account, and is treated as a mere aggregation of English counties. Everyone knows that it is Irish feeling, and Irish feeling alone, that is the cause of the Home Rule policy out of which Federation is a logical developement, whilst the Irish claim itself is put forward by Irishmen not as a claim to extended local government, to provincial councils, or to 'State' rights, but as a national claim to govern herself as a separate people and be responsible for her own fate.

The first essential in the making or mending of constitutions is to understand thoroughly the condition and circumstances of the people for whom they are intended. It is of importance no doubt to study and to analyse the proceedings of Parliament from generation to generation, yet unless we lift our eyes from Hansard and the Statute Book to contemplate the changes that in the same time

have come over the people themselves, we shall set about our work with little prospect of bringing it to a happy conclusion. We are told that parliamentary records show the unsuitableness of an incorporating union to the necessities of England and Scotland—that Union which the Scottish historian describes as 'the happy climax of the 'great romance of our history.'* With Burton we believe that the Union at the time it was made was the work of patriotic, wise, and far-seeing statesmanship; but one hundred and ninety years have passed away, and Scotland and England have become better acquainted, not merely than they were before 1707, but than they were in the days of Captain Burt and of Pennant. It is with the Great Britain of the end of the nineteenth century that we have to deal. Commercial intercourse, travelling facilities, the altered habits of Englishmen and Scotchmen have brought them together. Considerations other than political, yet fraught with the most important political consequences, have made one nation out of two. The Northumberland farmer who moves across the Border does *not* find himself in a foreign land, and the belief that each people is now living under a system, and with laws almost totally incomprehensible to the other, is ridiculously unlike the truth.

The course of time has brought into harmony their political interests, not less than their commercial and social interests. What do we find to-day in British politics? The same party divisions run through the whole island from Land's End to John o' Groat's, the same leaders appeal to the one side and the other, English constituencies make no distinction whatever between English and Scottish candidates, and Scottish seats are harbours of refuge to many eminent Englishmen who have reason to doubt the political sympathies of their own countrymen.

In Mr. Spalding's book there is an utterly inadequate appreciation of the part played by 'party' in our parliamentary and national politics. In the public opinion of Great Britain, amongst British members of Parliament, and in British constituencies, party, not nationality, is the governing factor. Mr. Morley and Mr. Asquith, for instance, are enabled by coming to Scotland to find seats which have been 'Liberal' ever since 1832—in England an almost impossible task. It is true that English candidates in Scotland often do their very best to pose as representative

* J. Hill Burton.

of the 'national' feeling, and this in itself shows—where of course Scottish patriotism cannot be felt—a readiness to drag local 'nationalism' at the chariot wheels of 'party.'

It was Federation to which Mr. Gladstone pointed in 1886.* 'Wales,' he told us, 'and even Scotland might be 'soon asking for a representative body of its own, for the 'desire for Federation was floating in the minds of many.' Mr. Spalding has no consideration for 'gallant little Wales.' England—including Wales, Scotland, Ireland—each of the three is to have its own House of Commons elected upon the existing household franchise, to choose and control its own executive government, to legislate for its own country, and to tax its own people. It was the idea of 'Federation,' it may be remembered, which was so hateful to Professor Freeman and many other Home Rulers a few years ago. Nevertheless, let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that their objections, and those of Unionists, have been overcome, and that a federal constitution is actually established. The very *raison d'être* of each local government and parliament is the sentiment of the national position and dignity attaching to each 'State.' Circumstances would almost necessarily compel each into aggression on the province of the Federation or of its neighbour States. In the name of nationality these bodies would have been created, and in the spirit of nationality, rather than of a common citizenship, they would naturally pursue their individual policies. At present, though common party lines divide the British people from north to south, Conservatism is much stronger in England than in Scotland. In all probability the majority in the English Parliament would be strongly Conservative, in the Scotch Parliament Liberal, in the Irish Parliament Nationalist. Thus Conservatism and Liberalism, instead of being the political differences of fellow-citizens, would tend to become identified with distinct 'nationalities.' English and Scotch would oppose each other as such; the differences of party would be intensified, and political difficulties would be greatly increased.

Scotchmen do not forget that an *English* Parliament and Government, founded on the basis of *English* nationality, means the exclusion of Scotchmen from the chief internal politics of Great Britain. It is difficult to conceive how a heavier blow could be given to the importance of Scotland,

* 'The Irish Question,' by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. August, 1886.

than by separating its legislature from that of England. And Scottish national sentiment would indeed be of a strange kind, if it looked to a revival of the glories of the ancient kingdom in the establishment in Edinburgh of a Statutory House of Keys! It is surely clear that an exclusively English Parliament and Government would be too powerful to play the part of a mere 'State legislature' in a Federation of which Scotland and Ireland were the other members. Neither Scotland nor Ireland wishes to act the part of satellite to the larger kingdom. The history of Scotland between 1603 and 1707 has its lesson. In truth, both with regard to Scotland and Ireland, our experience of separate Parliaments within the British Islands has not been a happy one, and the British people will be mad indeed if they ev give that system another trial. No! if we are really to 'federalise' the kingdom (we are not speaking of the Empire) arrangements must be made for dividing England itself into several States, and then it is possible to imagine a Federation of which the different States would stand in fact as well as in theory upon an equal footing. But then, as Mr. Balfour once put it, there is a serious doubt as to whether England will allow herself 'to be cut up into 'lengths' in order to suit the measurements imposed by the alleged necessities of Scotland and Ireland.

What causes us unmixed astonishment in examining projects such as this of Mr. Spalding's, is the simple faith of the projectors, that after all they are proposing very slight 'developements' of the constitution, and are merely bringing it into conformity with the circumstances and conditions of our own time. Mr. Spalding's scheme, we have seen, involves the virtual abolition of the House of Lords, but in truth it would prove almost as fatal to the power of the Imperial House of Commons. That House would be forbidden to legislate about purely English affairs, about purely Scotch affairs, about purely Irish affairs. The Executive Government of England would no longer depend upon its support, but upon that of the English State Assembly. The House of Commons would entirely lose touch with the country. It would no longer be the redresser of grievances, the defender of rights, the law-maker upon those matters which most intimately concern the lives and interests of the electors. But these are the homely functions that have brought the House of Commons into such intimate relations with the British people. The new House of Com-

mons is to soar above merely local interests, and play the part only of the Senate of an Empire upon which the sun never sets. This may be very magnificent, but it is virtually the end of the House of Commons, such as it has been hitherto known to British citizens.

In the beginning of his work Mr. Spalding supposes, under our existing system, a candidate addressing his constituents on the politics of the day. What can be more absurd, he asks, than to address electors on matters which do not directly concern themselves? What has a Scotch elector to do with the Welsh Church, an English elector with Irish land, an Irishman with an English liquor law? But under the proposed system, how would it be possible for a candidate for the Imperial House of Commons to address a local electorate upon any subject at all? The Scotch candidate must not address the Scotch constituency upon a purely Scotch matter, for these are the concerns of the State Parliament; still less may he show any interest in what concerns England or Ireland, for these are English or Irish 'affairs.' He must confine himself to foreign, Indian, or colonial matters, the army and the navy, and so forth. He might wax eloquent on coaling stations, on the opium trade, on the Indian cotton duties, on the Venezuelan frontier, on Armenian atrocities; but as to those matters, of which the householders have direct knowledge and strong sentiments, he must say never a word. It would be absurd to pursue this branch of the inquiry any further. It may be that the Empire really requires an imperial senate, and that in time a senate we shall have. But our 670 members of Parliament will hardly become a satisfactory senate merely by taking from them almost the whole of those functions which they have been elected to perform. Two propositions are perfectly clear. First, that to 'federalise' on the basis of the three nations, involves an assembly to deal with the general and imperial interests of the Federation. Secondly, that this assembly or senate, as its functions will be very unlike those of the House of Commons, must be constituted in a perfectly different manner, with a view to the work which it will have to do.

No doubt as time progresses our Parliamentary institutions will undergo great modifications. In all probability devolution to committees of the House of Commons will be much more largely practised than at present. It may be hoped, also, that local administration will be extended, and

a check given to excessive centralisation of authority in London. The extension of local government under a single united Parliament differs in kind, not merely in degree, from proposals to build up on grounds of different nationalities within the kingdom a system of federated states. Attacks upon the unity of Parliament and the authority of the supreme government, under Parliament, in every part of the United Kingdom will inevitably fail. They are opposed to the conditions of the age in which we live. A policy so essentially retrograde, though it may appeal to the fancies of a few theorists, and may even be trifled with for an interval by a few politicians, will never receive the support of a practical people.

ART. V.—1. *La Planète Mars et ses Conditions d'Habitabilité.* Par CAMILLE FLAMMARION. Paris: 1892.

2. *Mars.* By PERCIVAL LOWELL. London and Bombay: 1896.

3. *The Planet Mars.* By GIOVANNI SCHIAPARELLI. Translated by W. H. PICKERING. 'Astronomy and Astro-' Physics,' vol. xiii. Northfield, U.S.A.: 1894.

A LADY of the inanely inquisitive kind having met an eminent astronomer, implored permission to ask him *one* question. 'Certainly, madam,' he replied, 'if it isn't 'about Mars.' It *was* about Mars. That was the time of the great Mars boom, when public imbecility and journalistic enterprise combined to flood the papers and society with 'news from Mars,' and queries concerning Mars, most exasperating to grave thinkers and hard workers in science. The occasion of the excitement was this.

On August 4, 1892, Mars stood right opposite to the sun, at a distance from the earth of less than 35,000,000 miles. This was, for all practical purposes, his 'nearest,' and oppositions so favourable recur only at intervals of fifteen years. It is true that the earth, in its more rapid circling, comes up with Mars once in 780 days, and passes duly between him and the sun. And if both orbits were circular, all these oppositions would be equally propitious to astronomical inquiry. But that of Mars, in particular, is so considerably eccentric that his opposition-distance varies from 35 to 61 million miles. In the first case his visible disc has the apparent size of a half-sovereign held up, say, at Charing Cross, and viewed from Hyde Park Corner; in the second its area is reduced to one-third this magnitude, and being also less brilliantly illuminated—since the planet is then at its greatest distance from the sun—Mars shines at aphelion-oppositions as a star shorn of three-fourths of the formidable glare with which it rises to midnight culmination when near perihelion.

The opposition of 1892 was awaited with particular interest as an occasion for testing the powers of modern telescopes, and especially of the giant instrument erected on the summit of Mount Hamilton. If, in 1877, Schiaparelli, using an insignificant 9-inch refractor, had gained some preliminary insight into the extraordinary character of Martian topography, and Asaph Hall had detected, through the dull air of Washington, the diminutive satellites of

'moonless Mars,' what might not be expected from the diligent use, under the serene skies of Mount Hamilton and Arequipa, of means and appliances magnified, multiplied, and varied to the extent accomplished within the last few years? It was, indeed, only at these two stations that observations of value were secured. The low altitude of the planet, which, at London, rose only 16° above the horizon, precluded the effective employment of telescopes situated in more northerly latitudes.

Their turn came, however, with the opposition of October 20, 1894, which might be regarded as supplementary to its predecessor. Although unnoticed by sensation-mongers, it was, indeed, more practically advantageous to astronomers. For the 5,000,000 miles by which the distance of Mars from the earth was increased, fell far short of balancing the gain afforded by fifteen added degrees of elevation in the sky. The observations made were, accordingly, more satisfactory, and indefinitely more numerous. No resounding discoveries were chronicled, but steady and serious work was done. Knowledge was thus notably augmented during those two seasons of Martian study; yet, for the most part, in a dubious and inconclusive manner. Some questions were, to be sure, set finally at rest; but many more were raised in an acute form. If doubtful things were made clear, things supposed clear were made to appear eminently doubtful. Opinions regarding the condition of Mars have, as the upshot, become highly unsettled. Many points demand reconsideration; and the creation of temporary uncertainties has opened the way to a rush of scepticism, credulity and unreason exceedingly difficult to cope with.

Among the prominent results of the pair of oppositions, we may reckon a pair of notable books, the titles of which are quoted at the head of these pages. They are strongly contrasted in character. M. Flammarion's is a complete history of physical observations upon Mars from 1636 to 1892. The first part, of 500 pages, is composed of documentary statements, copiously illustrated from contemporary drawings, beginning with those made by Fontana at Naples during the lifetime of Galileo. What one observer after another saw, or thought he saw, during the two and a half centuries since elapsed, is recorded, not only exhaustively, but with animation. The book, accordingly, had no sooner appeared than it was found to be indispensable. The author's conclusions, summarised in 100 pages, constitute the second part. His personal experience as an observer

and draughtsman adds to the weight lent to them by his prolonged literary researches; and they are in themselves deserving of high consideration. He denies nothing that has been reasonably well seen, but rushes to no extreme conclusions; minimises, if anything, the *incredibilities* with which the planet presents us, and holds fast to the terrestrial analogy. Its seeming habitability suffices to produce in him a profound conviction that it is inhabited by thinking organisms; he does not, however, pretend to find in 'signals 'mathematic,' 'labours hydrostatic,' or other manifestations, direct evidence of their presence.

Mr. Lowell, as an astronomer, is a purely Martian product. Among the multitude caught by the wave of excited curiosity in 1892, he alone held on to solid ground at the higher level of its crest. A typical Bostonian, he might, had the time served, been enumerated by the plucky little Sculpin at the 'Professor's Breakfast Table' among the glories of that unique city. Until the turning-point came, Mr. Lowell's career appears to have had no scientific relations; but we understand that he travelled, and wrote books about his travels; and he evidently possessed dollars at discretion. In May 1894 he lectured before the Boston Scientific Society on the plan of work to be pursued at his new observatory. 'This,' he said, 'may be put popularly as an investigation 'into the conditions of life in other worlds, including last, 'but not least, their habitability by beings like and unlike 'man. This is not the chimerical search some may suppose. 'On the contrary, there is strong reason to believe that we 'are on the eve of pretty definite discovery in the matter.'

He started, then, with a strong prepossession; his language leaves us in little doubt that the conclusions ratified at Flagstaff had been reached before quitting Boston. Nevertheless, we cannot but admire the energy and promptitude with which the preparations needful for visual work were carried through. 'Like an exhalation,' a fine observatory rose near the town of Flagstaff, in Arizona, at an elevation of 7,300 feet above the sea. Besides other instruments, it contained an 18-inch equatorial by Brashear, the fine optical qualities of which were displayed to advantage under those serene skies. They were devoted to the study of Mars, and of nothing but Mars. From May 24, 1894, to April 3, 1895,* Mr. Lowell and his assistants, Mr. W. H. Pickering

* Mr. Lowell's personal observations extended from May 31 to November 22.

and Mr. Douglass—both of whom had observed Mars at Arequipa in 1892—laboured to unfold the secrets of a peopled world. The accumulation of 917 careful drawings of its surface-markings were among the results secured, and the excellence of the telescopic 'seeing' is attested by the wealth of new details represented in them. They constitute, indeed, a marked advance in Martian topography. Mr. Lowell is unquestionably a gifted observer; his map of Mars, constructed entirely from materials collected during one season, is a remarkable production; but, as we shall see, he has not always been keenly enough on his guard against the snares and pitfalls laid for those straining towards the uttermost limit of the visible.

His book is eminently readable. There is nothing superfluous in it. The information it imparts is strictly limited to what is required for the purpose in hand. The facts placed on record are not scattered broadcast, but marshalled skilfully towards an end. And the argument moves on so quickly that the reader does not get time to think whither he is being carried. Even technical critics touch the volume gingerly, unable to see precisely where the lurking fallacy comes in. The style is buoyant and original, and is enlivened by jokes, to be condoned or enjoyed according to taste. As an example of clear and simple exposition the section on 'Areography' deserves all praise. Turning the globe completely round, as it were, before his audience, he describes, with the help of a set of beautiful drawings, the successive presentations of its chief features, and so impressively as to bring Mars—at least in the cartographical sense—within the familiar acquaintance of all who lend him their attention.

As a contribution to science, this pleasant and clever work can scarcely be taken quite seriously. The views it embodies may be summarised as follows:—There is no water on Mars, except what is set free by the alternate melting of the snow-caps in the early summer of their respective hemispheres. The dusky areas previously mistaken for seas are really forests or prairies, while the bright parts of the disc represent deserts. Both are covered by a vast and intricate network of watercourses, constructed for purposes of irrigation by a powerful, laborious, and intelligent race of beings. The 'canals,' however, are only visible to us through the verdure lining their shores. They meet in 'oases,' rescued with incredible toil from the surrounding Sahara-plains, and artificially fertilised. Under these circumstances, it is easy

to believe that the polar inundation—the beneficent Nile-flood of a desiccated planet—is the great vital event of each Martian year, its effects being traceable downward over the disc in a connected sequence of seasonal changes.

Mr. Lowell is not the inventor of all these startling propositions, but he has taken the initiative in welding them into a more or less coherent whole. They have thus acquired a colour of plausibility, and attracted more attention than would otherwise have been paid to them. We believe, however, that the world constructed upon the basis afforded by them could under no circumstances prove to be a going concern.

Down to the year 1877 Mars appeared to be a heavenly body of the most approved type. The analogy with the earth, upon which Herschel had insisted, remained unimpaired. The snow-caps, which were then, as they are now, the pivots upon which reasonings about the physical state of Mars turned, visibly grew and dwindled with the alternations of summer and winter. Water, then, it was argued, certainly exists in Mars, and it must cover surfaces sufficiently extensive to supply, by rapid evaporation, the snowy deposits by turns removed and restored. Where were such surfaces to be found unless in the dusky green patches relieved against the ruddy background of what were doubtless Martian continents? These patches were proved, by the experience of two centuries, to be fundamentally permanent. It was no cloud scenery, like that of Venus, with which Mars presented astronomers, but a genuine configuration of land and water. In Mars, as a rule,

'The pavilion of heaven is bare.'

Clouds are scarce, and it is uncertain whether it ever rains in summer. The presence of an atmosphere, however, is in no way doubtful. The wasting of the white calottes alone asserts it with convincing emphasis, since aqueous circulation cannot be maintained apart from atmospheric agency. The 'all-sustaining air' employed in the process is thin and translucent, yet efficacious for the discharge of its proper functions. One of the most important of these is the storage of heat. In vain the sun pours in supplies unless a planet does its part by keeping, diffusing, and husbanding them. Now the thermal income of Mars is less than half that of the earth, and its theoretical mean temperature is consequently—taking into account its low 'albedo,' or reflective power per unit of area—thirty degrees Centi-

grade below freezing. Its actual climate is, nevertheless, of a perfectly mild type; the polar snows melt rapidly, and almost completely; nearer to the equator frigid conditions are either wholly absent or so rare that a terrestrial visitant might spare himself the trouble of putting up his skates. Blizzards are unknown; no cyclones carry devastation at express speed across land and sea: the Martian winds are zephyrs with folded wings.

Thus the composition of the Martian atmosphere must be peculiar. Its ameliorating effects upon climate suggest the presence of some ingredient acting more powerfully than even water-vapour in trapping sunbeams. It contains, indeed, water-vapour besides, as in the nature of things it must, and as the spectroscope states that it does, but not in sufficient quantities to produce the observed effects. The aërial clothing of Mars is obviously quite slight. Except near the edges of the disc, where the eye penetrates obliquely through its layers, it does not sensibly impede vision. Contrariwise, a spectator placed outside the earth might learn something of meteorology, but next to nothing of geography. An occasional star-like flash from a snow-peak, when sunlight struck it at such an angle as to be directly reflected to the watcher outside, would be his sole intimation that a solid surface lay beneath the rolling clouds or luminous haze spread before him. Martian air is commonly estimated to be of only one-seventh the density of terrestrial air. We should have to ascend to twice the height of Mount Everest to meet rarefaction comparable with that prevailing at the level of the 'Hour-glass Sea.' Under these circumstances, the whole surface of the planet should virtually be situated high above our line of perpetual snow; no open water could, at any season, be found upon it; it should be frost-bound from pole to pole. Since things are in reality far otherwise, we perceive, again from this point of view, that a factor is missing in our calculation, and that factor may be most readily supplied by attributing a special quality to the Martian air. It is well to remember that if barometric pressure be in fact of no more than four-and-a-half inches of mercury—corresponding to one-seventh of an atmosphere—water must boil in Mars at 115° instead of 212°. Evaporation would thus be immensely facilitated, and extensive sheets of water would at times probably dry up with remarkable rapidity. This may help to explain certain fluctuations of shore-lines noticed with continually increasing certainty.

The seas of Mars cover about one-third of his surface, and

resemble those of the earth in being situated predominantly in his southern hemisphere. Thus, the southern snow-cap is completely encircled by a great body of water, which spreads, with its outliers and tributaries, down to and beyond the equator; while the northern snow-cap is formed on a polar continent. The domestic economy of Mars is regulated after a fashion which would scarcely strike us as unfamiliar. His year, indeed, runs on to 687 of our days, but day and night alternate at almost the same rate as here; and, since his axis of rotation is but slightly more tilted than that of the earth, his seasons, although comprised in a longer cycle, proceed on the same geometrical plan. They are, besides being protracted, much more unequal than ours, owing to the conspicuous ovalness of the Martian orbit; and it may be added that, according to the astronomical theory of an Ice Age, the southern hemisphere of Mars ought to be strongly glaciated. The requisite conditions are, in fact, present in a more pronounced degree than they could ever have attained to on our globe; yet, somehow, the spell does not work—the southern is to the full as warm as the northern hemisphere.

A new epoch in the investigation of Mars was opened by Signor Schiaparelli's discovery of the 'canals' of Mars during the memorable opposition of 1877. He may be called a miraculous observer. Everything, so far, seen by him with conviction has had only to wait for full ratification. The views of Mars afforded him by an $8\frac{3}{4}$-inch, later by an 18-inch refractor were of unprecedented perfection. They had the exquisite clearness of a line-engraving, and left no room for illusion; the features they included were unmistakeably *there*. His canals have thus gradually triumphed over the incredulity, as to their objective presence, of those whose eyes or whose instruments were incapable of showing them, and have taken rank among the least questionable, although perhaps the very strangest of planetary phenomena.

They form a system of extraordinary complexity. At times the reddish areas seem completely enmeshed in fine dark lines. These lines are drawn in accordance with definite laws. In the first place, they trace out great circles of the sphere; they proceed, that is to say, from one point to another by the shortest possible route. Next, they invariably travel from sea to sea, or, at any rate, they put seas in communication with other canals. Each has an evident destination, and never fails to reach it; there is no example on Mars of a Panama Canal. Terrestrial triumphs of engineering are indeed puny performances compared with

these other world channellings, which range in length from 300 to upwards of 4,000 miles; in breadth, from 18 to 120 miles.

'Their length and arrangement are constant,' Signor Schiaparelli remarks in the paper quoted at the head of this article,* 'or vary only between very narrow limits. But the appearance and degree of visibility of all of them change greatly from one opposition to another, and even from one week to another, not simultaneously and according to the same laws, but in most cases, as it would seem, capriciously, or at least in subjection to laws too complex for our unravelment. Often one or two grow indistinct, or even wholly invisible, while others in their vicinity increase to the point of becoming conspicuous with telescopes of moderate power.'

Schiaparelli holds it as certain that the 'seas' of Mars are true liquid expanses, and the 'canals'

'simple prolongations of them, crossing the yellow areas or continents. That they are actually great furrows or depressions in the surface of the planet, constituting for it a genuine hydrographic system, is demonstrated by the phenomena observed during the melting of the northern snows. These appear at that time surrounded by a dark zone, forming a species of temporary sea. The canals of the encompassing region then grow blacker and wider, increasing so much as to convert, at a certain epoch, the whole yellow region comprised between the edge of the snow and the parallel of 60° North latitude into numerous small islands. This state of things continues until the snow, reduced to its minimum, ceases to melt. Then the canals diminish in breadth, the temporary sea disappears, and the yellow region resumes its original extent. The different phases of these vast phenomena are renewed at each return of the seasons, and we were easily able to observe them in detail during the oppositions of 1882, 1884, and 1886, when the planet presented its north pole to terrestrial spectators. Their simplest and most natural interpretation, by a great inundation due to the melting of the snows, is entirely logical, and in accordance with terrestrial analogy. We conclude, therefore, that the canals are such in fact, and not only in name. The network formed by them was probably determined in its origin at an early stage of the planet's geological history, and has been slowly elaborated in the course of ages.'

We learn then that, although the canals are essentially permanent features in Martian topography, they fluctuate notably in aspect. They blacken and widen, often unaccountably, then again grow dim and nebulous, or fade out, perhaps through the drying up of their flowing contents, into the

* We quote with some abridgement and verbal modifications of Professor Pickering's translation.

ruddy background. Above all, they undergo, at certain times, the extraordinary metamorphosis called 'gemination.'

'As the result of a rapid process' (we recur to the authority of Schiaparelli) 'lasting at most a few days, perhaps only a few hours, a given canal is transformed through its entire length into two lines or uniform stripes, which run straight and equal with the exact geometrical precision of the two rails of a railroad. One of these is often superposed as exactly as possible upon the former line, the other being drawn anew, at an interval varying from the least discernible in large telescopes—about 30 miles—to 360 miles. But in other cases both the lines occupy opposite sides of the former canal, and are located upon entirely fresh ground.'

Mr. Lowell is one of the very few observers who have seen to perfection these delicate twin-objects.

'In good air,' he writes, 'the phenomenon is quite unmistakable. The two lines are as distinct and as distinctly parallel as possible. No draughtsman could draw them better. They are thoroughly Martian in their mathematical precision. At the very first glance they convey, like all the other details of the canal system, the appearance of artificiality.'

At certain seasons, chiefly during the months preceding and following the vernal equinox of the northern hemisphere —in which nearly all the canals are situated—an epidemic of gemination breaks out on this singular little planet. Beginning with sporadic cases in remote districts, it gradually spreads, until, as Schiaparelli has remarked, a grotesque mask of triangulations and double reticulations replaces, for a time, the ordinary configuration of sea and shore. The tendency extends to the lakes at the canal junctions. They appear cut in two by a sort of causeway of ochreous tint, taking invariably the same direction with the debouching double canal.

With the canal system is associated a lake system.

'Dotted all over the reddish ochre ground of the desert stretches of the planet,' Mr. Lowell informs us, 'are an innumerable number of dark circular or oval spots. They appear, furthermore, always in intimate association with the canals. They constitute so many hubs, to which the canals make spokes. These spots, together with the canals that lead to them, are the only markings to be seen anywhere on the continental regions. Otherwise the great reddish ochre areas are absolutely bare: of that pale, fire-opal hue which marks our own deserts seen from far.'

These are his 'oases;' there are a 'small infinity' of them. Although the leading members of the family were closely studied at Milan, acquaintance with it was immensely

developed at Arequipa in 1892, and at Flagstaff in 1894. Mr. Lowell's generalisation is doubtless correct, that as there are no canal junctions without spots, so there are no spots without canal junctions. On an average, they are from 120 to 150 miles in diameter; but the great 'Lake of the Sun' measures 540 by 350 miles; while the diminutive 'Fountain of Youth' is of scarcely appreciable dimensions.

Now the whole system of dark markings on Mars—the seas, the canals, and the lakes—is so evidently *one*, that only a single *rationale* of their nature is, in the main, admissible. If the 'seas' be indeed aqueous expanses, then water flows in the canals and accumulates in the 'lakes.' But this is just one of those leading points of Martian doctrine in which belief has been undermined by recent inquiries. The diversities and fluctuations of tint in the greenish areas had long occasioned perplexity. But it was a dormant kind of perplexity, roused into active denial only by some very singular observations made at the Lick Observatory, at Arequipa, and at Flagstaff, during the recent pair of oppositions. Not only have the dusky areas shown a mass of minute and intricate detail, but they have been perceived, first by Professor Schaeberle,* then by Mr. Douglass, to be furrowed by darker lines, corresponding in every respect to Schiaparelli's canals, and bearing, in fact, the semblance of being a continuation of them. Mr. Douglass has even succeeded, with the aid of these enigmatical streaks, in triangulating the principal dark areas, the fluid constitution of which, should his work hold its ground, is thus involved in grave doubt. It appears, indeed, probable that the Gulf Stream, viewed from a great height, through a rare atmosphere, might be traced through the entire Atlantic by the difference of its hue; but the rivers in the oceans of Mars, if they prove to be such as Mr. Douglass has seen them, must belong to another category.

We can now understand Mr. Lowell's primary motives in abolishing every pool of open water upon Mars. They were reinforced by what he took to be seasonal changes of tint in the 'Mare Australe' and its dependencies. A large section of them, however, supposed by him to have fallen into the 'sere and yellow leaf' of autumn, was merely—as other contemporaneous observations proved—brought into uniformity with the bright areas by the outspreading of a

* Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, vol. iv. p. 197.

most unusually extensive and persistent canopy of clouds. Unaware of this untoward circumstance, he wrote:

'Thus we see that several independent phenomena all agree to show that the blue-green regions of Mars are not water, but generally, at least, areas of vegetation; from which it follows that Mars is very badly off for water, and is dependent upon the melting of its polar snows for practically its whole supply. If, therefore, the planet possess inhabitants, there is but one course open to them in order to support life. Irrigation, and upon as vast a scale as possible, must be the all-engrossing Martian pursuit. . . . In the Martian mind there would be one question perpetually paramount to all the local labour, women's suffrage, and Eastern questions put together—the water question. How to procure water enough to support life? would be the great communal problem of the day.'

We fear, however, that the solution of it offered by Mr. Lowell would scarcely prove, in the long run, satisfactory.

'With the familiar melting of the snow-cap,' he explains, 'begins the yearly round of the planet's life. With the melting of our own Arctic or Antarctic cap might similarly be said to begin the earth's annual activity. But here at the very outset there appears to be one important difference between the two planets. On the earth the relation of the melting of the polar snows to the awakening of surface activity is a case of *post hoc* simply; on Mars it seems to be a case of *propter hoc* as well. For, unlike the earth, which has water to spare, and to which, therefore, the unlocking of its polar snows is a matter of no direct economic value, Mars is apparently in straits for the article, and has to draw upon its polar reservoir for its annual supply. Upon the melting of its polar cap, and the transference of the water thus annually set free to go its rounds, seem to depend all the seasonal phenomena on the surface of the planet.'

No rounds, however, could, under the imagined circumstances, be performed, since the water employed to the last drop in the support of organic life would, in a meteorological sense, be practically irrecoverable. Without evaporating surfaces for restocking the air with moisture, there could be no aqueous depositions, and a snow-cap, once dissipated, could never be restored. A recurrent Nile-flood might as well be looked for after the final cessation of the equatorial rains. This scheme of Martian irrigation is thus, as it were, a circulatory system all arteries and no veins.

Granting, *per impossibile*, that the snow-cap in each hemisphere does somehow get regenerated, we have further to complain that Mr. Lowell treats it as an 'inexhaustible 'bottle.' He was in 1894 enabled to drain its contents, since the last vestige of glacial covering vanished from the southern pole, for the first time in Martian annals, towards

the end of October, less than two months after the summer solstice, which fell that year on August 31. Still, they must certainly have been inadequate to the demands made upon them. The immense dusky tracts—in his view forest-lands or prairies—surrounding the southern pole bore the brunt of the inundation, and showed its beneficent effects by their verdant aspect. 'One continuous belt of blue-green stretched from the Syrtis Major to the Columns of Hercules.' The spare water was then led off, doubtless with the help of ingenious hydraulic machines, into the complex set of receptacles prepared for it on the continental plains, and, as a consequence, the whole system of canals, with their ancillary oases, darkened with growing crops between August and October, and remained conspicuous until the close of the observations. The *southern* polar inundation thus ran itself out only when it had reached to about the fortieth parallel of *northern* latitude. It was expended, besides, in fertilising districts just at the depth of the local winter. Surely there must be something wrong here. We can hardly imagine so shrewd a people as the irrigators of Thule and Hellas wasting labour, and the life-giving fluid to economising which their labour is devoted, after so unprofitable a fashion.

In reality, however, it would not be left to their discretion to share with the opposite hemisphere supplies which would certainly fall short of what was wanted for their own. There is every reason to believe that the Martian snow-caps are quite flimsy structures. Their material might be called snow *soufflé*, since, owing to the small power of gravity on Mars, snow is almost three times lighter there than here. Consequently, its own weight can have very little effect in rendering it compact. Nor, indeed, is there time for much settling down. The calotte does not form until several months after the winter solstice, and it begins to melt, as a rule, shortly after the vernal equinox. (The interval between the two epochs in the southern hemisphere of Mars is 176 days.) The snow lies on the ground, at the outside, a couple of months. At times it melts while it is still fresh-fallen. Thus, at the opposition of 1881–82 the spreading of the northern snows was delayed until seven weeks after the equinox; and they had, accordingly, no sooner reached their maximum than they began to decline. And Professor Pickering's photographs of April 9 and 10, 1890, proved that the southern calotte may assume its definitive proportions in a single night.

No attempt has ever been made to estimate the quantity of water derivable from the melting of one of these formations; yet the experiment is worth trying as a help towards defining ideas. Let us grant that the average depth of snow in them, of the delicate Martian kind, is twenty feet, equivalent, at the most, to one foot of water. The maximum area covered, of 2,400,000 square miles, is nearly equal to that of the United States, while the whole globe of Mars measures 55,500,000 square miles, of which one-third—on the present hypothesis—is under cultivation, and in need of water. Nearly the whole of these dark areas are situated, as we know, in the southern hemisphere, of which they extend over, at the very least, 17,000,000 square miles; that is to say, they cover an area, in round numbers, seven times that of the snow-cap. Only one-seventh of a foot of water, accordingly, could possibly be made available for their fertilisation, supposing them to get the entire advantage of the spring freshet. Upon a stint of less than two inches of water these 'forest lands' are expected to flourish and bear abundant fruit; and, since they completely enclose the pole, they are necessarily served first. The great emissaries for carrying off the excess of their aqueous riches would then appear to be superfluous constructions; nor is it likely that the share in those riches due to the canals and oases, intricately dividing up the wide, dry, continental plains, can ever be realised.

We have assumed in our little calculation that the entire contents of a polar hood turn to water; but in actual fact a considerable proportion of them must pass directly into vapour, omitting the intermediate stage. The process may often be watched in London itself, where large patches of soiled and dishonoured snow, ignored by the vestries, are, by a particular 'courtesy of Nature,' removed aërially. And in the rare atmosphere of Mars this cause of waste must be especially effective. Thus the polar reservoirs are despoiled in the act of being opened. Further objections might be taken to Mr. Lowell's irrigation scheme; but enough has been said to show that it is hopelessly unworkable.

Mars is, nevertheless, a globe highly sensitive, if we may so express our meaning, to the vicissitudes of the seasons. At the time when frigid bonds are loosed in each hemisphere, striking variations occur in the configuration of what we must still continue to call land and water. Among the elements of change are assuredly to be reckoned polar inundations, on a scale much reduced from Mr. Lowell's

portentous design, and there is no reason to deny that the developement of vegetation may play its part. The effects of wintry rains on the hemisphere partially averted from sun and earth, and hence not directly perceptible to us, most likely become visible in the darkening of pre-equinoctial canals, while mountain torrents may here and there contribute to alter temporarily the planet's physiognomy. From his patient study of these phenomena, Schiaparelli has been led to conclude 'that abnormal variations in the markings 'of Mars follow no casual or irregular succession, but that 'identical changes may be reproduced after long intervals 'of time. The form and extent of such variations,' he continues, 'are determined by some stable, or at least periodical, 'element.'*

The mountains of Mars form a theme of no slight perplexity. The southern polar area beyond question bristles with peaks; they show isolated by the melting of the snows, and star-points of sunlight, directly flashed back by them, were caught by Green at Madeira in 1877, as well as by Lowell at Flagstaff in 1894. Yet the detection of numerous inequalities in the 'terminator' (the dividing line between light and darkness when the planet is gibbous) ranks as one of the most noteworthy of the Flagstaff achievements; and bright spots above that same sunrise or sunset verge, as the case may be, have been frequently and surely observed, and seem to be most easily explained by the anticipated illumination or retarded extinction of lofty summits catching or detaining sun-rays. The effect was seen with peculiar distinctness on August 27 last, by Professor Hussey, of the Lick Observatory.

Nevertheless, we seem, as Mr. Lowell expresses it, to be placed 'in a dilemma between mountains on the one hand 'and canals on the other.' The network of watercourses, if such indeed they be, peremptorily demands, to our apprehension, a continental *tabula rasa*.

'The system seems sublimely superior to possible obstructions in the way; the lines running, apparently, not where they may, but where they choose. The Eumenides-Orcus, for example, pursues the even tenor of its unswerving course for nearly 3,500 miles. Now, it might be possible so to select one's country that one canal should be able to do this; but that every canal should be straight, and many of them fairly comparable with the Eumenides-Orcus in length, seems to be beyond the possibility of contrivance.'

* Astr. Nach. No. 3271.

Our present author extricates himself from the dilemma by substituting clouds for mountains everywhere, except at the pole, where they are innocuous to theory; but his reasonings on the subject fail to carry conviction. Additional facts are needed, and they will soon, we may hope, be forthcoming. Careful locations, for instance, of the 'bright 'projections,' just described as visible above the terminator, like the mountains of the moon, must prove decisive as to their nature. The key to Martian enigmas of all classes can only be found in persistent observations—in observations pursued night by night and month after month, excepting only when the planet's position is not merely unfavourable, but *impossible*. With modern telescopes its disc can be studied with profit when no more than seven seconds of arc in apparent diameter. Mr. Lowell has, then, taken the right way, and means, apparently, to persevere in it. He has arranged to observe the opposition of December next—not a particularly propitious one—from a post near the city of Mexico, and has added to his equipment for the occasion a 24-inch refractor by Alvan G. Clark, the powers of which have already been displayed by Dr. See's re-detection with it of the long-hidden companion of Sirius.

The spectrum of Mars will probably receive much future attention. The presence in it of dark bands due to aqueous absorption was announced by Huggins and Janssen in 1867, was confirmed by Vogel in 1873, denied by Campbell of Lick in 1894, and almost immediately reaffirmed, on the ground of fresh and highly critical observations, by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins. They obtained, in addition, signs of the arresting action upon light of an unknown ingredient in the planet's atmosphere. Mr. Lewis E. Jewell, of Baltimore, U.S., no mean authority, holds that oxygen is not unlikely to disclose itself after a similar fashion. Nay, it has been suggested that the emergence of chlorophyll-bands in the rays derived from the greenish areas during the Martian spring might establish beyond appeal their sylvan character. But this is a one-sided test, since a negative result would be valueless.

One of the popular assumptions about our neighbour-planet is that it is far advanced in senile decay. Hence, according to Mr. Lowell, the perennial water-famine by which its inhabitants are stimulated to superhuman exertions. It is 'just what theory would lead us to expect.' For Mars, being smaller than the earth, 'is relatively more advanced 'in his evolutionary career. He is older in age, if not in

'years; for whether his birth as a separate world antedated 'ours or not, his smaller size, by causing him to cool more 'quickly, would necessarily age him faster.' And again:—

'We have before us in Mars the spectacle of a world relatively well on in years, a world much older than the earth. To so much about his age Mars bears evidence on his face. He shows unmistakable signs of being old. Advancing planetary years have left their mark legible there. His continents are all smoothed down; his oceans have all dried up.'

These inferences are, to say the least, questionable. The geological history of Mars is for the present a sealed book to us; nor can we pretend to determine the stage of developement at which he has arrived. It may possibly be a backward one; in which case the anomalous mildness of his climate might be explained by the still sensible effects of his internal heat. We are ignorant of the epoch when he was first set spinning as an independent globe; we are ignorant as to the conditions by which his rate of cooling was regulated and modified. The difficulty of assigning on any cut-and-dried principle the order of planetary seniority is illustrated by the significant fact that Uranus and Neptune, the exterior members of the solar system, although small by comparison with Jupiter and Saturn, are unmistakably less advanced on the road towards completion as habitable worlds.

Such Mars appears now to be; to assert more would be to launch into the realms of speculation. The extraordinary difficulty of interpreting the map of this planet cannot legitimately be evaded by attributing its peculiarities to the intervention of engineering genius. The Alexander's sword of cosmical intelligence, so freely wielded by Mr. Lowell, is not a scientific weapon. In physical investigations knots have to be untied, not cut. Upon the geometrical regularity of the canal system our author bases his chief argument for their artificial production. Its 'very aspect,' he exclaims, 'is such as to defy natural explanation.' 'Diversity in 'uniformity' he takes to be distinctive of unassisted nature; while 'too great regularity' raises more than a suspicion 'that some finite intelligence has been at work.' The doubling of the canals, although he has no recipe of explanation at hand for it, strengthens this persuasion. 'It is 'the most artificial-looking phenomenon of an artificial-'looking disc.'

To the Greek mind, however, the making of the world was, it might be said, by rule and compass; the Divine idea

was essentially mathematical. Schiaparelli has made some admirable remarks in this very connexion. Speaking of Martian 'geminations,' he says:—

'The geometry of nature is manifested in many other facts, which entirely exclude the idea of artificial labour. The perfect spheroids of the heavenly bodies and the ring of Saturn were not constructed in a turning-lathe, and not with compasses has Iris described in the clouds her beautiful and regular arch. And what shall we say of the infinite variety of those exquisite and regular polyhedrons in which the world of crystals is so rich! In the organic world also, what wonderful geometry presides over the distribution of foliage on certain plants, orders the nearly symmetrical star-like forms of flowers and marine animals, and produces in the shell a perfect conical spiral excelling the finest masterpieces of Gothic architecture! In all these objects the geometrical figure is the simple and necessary consequence of the principles and laws which govern the physical and physiological world. That such principles and laws are but an indication of a higher intelligent Power we may admit; the admission has, however, nothing to do with the present argument.'

There is, then, no compulsion upon us to regard the surface of Mars as modelled to suit their vital needs by the industry of rational creatures. Irrigation hypotheses, inland navigation hypotheses, and the like, are superfluous, and, being superfluous, are inadmissible. Not that they are, in all shapes, demonstrably false, but that they open the door to pure license in theorising. The admission of vegetable growth and decay as an element of visible change is less objectionable, and is apparently capable of being justified spectroscopically; but, until that or some other kind of definite evidence is forthcoming, the subject invites only nebulous conjecture. In any case, Martian seas cannot be abolished, their presence being indispensable to the systematic and rapid circulation of water, which is the most obviously executed process of the planet's internal economy.

We venture to disclaim, on behalf of humanity, the extra-mundane jealousy imputed to it by Mr. Lowell. At the close of this nineteenth century, after so many poignant disillusions, amid the wreck of so many passionate hopes, it is not enamoured with its own destinies to the point of desiring to impose them as a maximum of happiness upon the universe. Rather, men cherish the vision of other and better worlds, where intelligence, untrammelled by moral disabilities, may have risen to unimaginable heights, and sense and reason alike are dominated by incorrupt will. But it is improbable that the vision can ever be located in any one of

the disseminated orbs around us. The problem of universal life is an enticing, yet insoluble one. That inorganic nature has, everywhere and always, for its designed and appointed final cause the production of organic life may be true, but can scarcely be assumed as a matter of course; while, on the other hand, the thought that millions of globes roll through space tenantless for all time revolts our sense of the rational in creation. Science can only declare that a given planet appears, so far as physical investigations can tell, to be habitable; *nihil obstat* is its last word on the subject. The word 'habitable' has, however, a very wide implication. The hierarchy of life has endless gradations. The 'roof 'and crown of things' in some remote worlds may be a race as far below the genus *homo* as it is above it in others. Could the veil be lifted, incomprehensible diversity would, without doubt, be found to prevail here as elsewhere in the works of Infinite Wisdom. For 'one star differeth from 'another star in glory.'

ART. VI.—*The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore.* Vol. II. Historical Manuscripts Commission. 14th Report. Appendix, Part V.

THE second volume of the manuscripts at Dropmore, which has recently been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, is undoubtedly of greater importance than that which preceded it four years ago, though that collection contained much noteworthy and interesting material.* The new volume consists of papers which extend over a comparatively short period—namely, the years 1791 to 1794; but they are years of supreme importance in the history of Europe and of Great Britain, and the collection before us adds largely to the accessible records of the time. It supplements other publications of the period, and it is equal in importance to any collection of correspondence which has hitherto been published. Inasmuch as the letters are written to or by Lord Grenville, he is the central figure of the work; and they have this special interest attached to them, that they are of the most varied kind, since as foreign secretary Grenville was receiving official and private letters from every Court in Europe. He was careful in the preservation of his correspondence, which at this late period is at length in course of publication. The letters form in a mixed shape a consecutive history of the political events on the Continent, and they depict by means of various letters and despatches the foreign policy of the country for these years under the administration of Pitt and Grenville. Broadly speaking, we first watch the course of purely central European politics, when the attention of English statesmen was fixed on the designs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Gradually the scene shifts from the Danube to the Seine, as the terrible drama of the French Revolution unfolds itself. English ministers have then to throw aside a severe neutrality in regard to the affairs of the Continent, and are forced into a coalition with the German Powers against the aggressiveness of the French nation, and the Eastern question for many years gives way to a new and more urgent crisis in the West. The gradual change which came over the minds of English statesmen will be made more obvious to anyone who will read through these numerous despatches; they depict better than can the pen of the historian the tendency of official opinion and the

* Edinburgh Review, vol. clxxvii. p. 145.

difficulties which beset English statesmen in their dealings with the European Powers. There are necessarily in them many details and allusions which are not only without permanent value, but have also lost all interest to a modern reader; still the chain of important despatches, of noteworthy incidents and the illustrations of decisive circumstances are so remarkable, that those who will steadily keep in view the general course of cardinal events will feel that this volume brings them into very close relations with the men and facts of that epoch.

The correspondence begins in January 1791. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind a few salient events if it is to be properly understood.

By the death of the Emperor Joseph II., on February 20, 1790, the war between Austria and Turkey came virtually to an end. For the new Emperor was a man of pacific views, a diplomatist rather than a soldier. The result of the change of personal rule was therefore a change of policy on the part of Austria, which culminated in the signing of an armistice at Reichenbach in August 1790, and in the peace of Sistova on August 4, 1791, on the basis of the *status quo ante*. But during the same period war was still being fiercely waged between Russia and Turkey, and on December 22 Suwarrow captured the fortress and town of Ismailow after an incredible slaughter. In spite, however, of the heavy blow to the Turkish arms, it was not until August 11, 1791, that peace was restored between these immemorial foes by the signature of the Treaty of Galatz. Before the latter event occurred the policy of the English administration was to induce the Empress Catherine to conclude a peace with the Porte on the same basis as Austria had done. Any territorial aggrandisement of Russia was regarded as a menace to the future peace of Europe, and as tending to the ultimate extinction of the Turkish Empire, and therefore to a change in the balance of power. The Empress Catherine, on the other hand, was determined—and in this she succeeded—that she would retain Oczakow and the district between the Dniester and the Bug: this fortress and piece of territory she had made up her mind not to relinquish. Their importance became unduly exaggerated in the minds of the British Cabinet, and Pitt, who after this particular moment regarded the neutrality of England in continental affairs as a vital part of his general policy, in regard to Russia favoured an actual intervention, and made preparations for a possible war. The Russian armament, as it was called at the time, became

the subject of Parliamentary discussion and of national apprehension, well founded when it is borne in mind that it was only after an ultimatum had been officially communicated on March 27 by the Duke of Leeds, then foreign secretary to the British minister at St. Petersburg, that it was countermanded by the hasty despatch of a messenger when Pitt had come to the conclusion that his policy, if carried to the extent of a war, would not be supported by the country. The consequence of this change of policy was the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, who, on April 21, was succeeded by Lord Grenville, who thenceforward held the office of foreign secretary until the resignation of Pitt in 1801. But this simple outline was necessarily involved at the time in a mass of complicated facts, and principles of policy were intermingled with numerous personal considerations and ambitions and foibles, which at the present day have lost their interest, while it is difficult to estimate their actual weight when a century has passed away.

The first letter of importance on the subject of the relations of Great Britain and Russia is one from Lord Auckland, at that time our minister at the Hague. His influence with both Pitt and Grenville was great; their reliance on his judgement was not misplaced. He was a statesman of thoroughly sound and clear understanding; he was never led astray by personal ambition or motives. His view of affairs was almost judicial; and he formed his judgements with a good-humoured serenity which made him a safe adviser.

It is unquestionable that the present publication will enhance Auckland's reputation for sagacity, and emphasise the undoubted and considerable influence which he exercised on the actual Ministry. He exemplifies the fact that a man need not necessarily be a member of a Cabinet in order to influence the policy of the body which is publicly responsible for the welfare of the State. One cause of the soundness of Auckland's opinions was that he kept in view the state of affairs at home. It is perfectly natural that English diplomatists at a foreign Court should be apt to give too little weight to the factors at home, even if they are able to measure their influence at all, and it is equally certain that what foreign statesmen have regarded as want of good faith on the part of English politicians has often been no more than a carrying out of the wishes of the nation as expressed by the voice of public opinion. Writing in one letter of the English minister and his colleague at Berlin after the great

change of policy which made Grenville foreign minister had taken place, Auckland makes these sagacious observations:—

'In all their reasonings as to foreign politics, they look only to the attainment of the object proposed, without any idea or means of appreciating the difficulty, the expense, the danger, and all the collateral circumstances which would occur to them if they had any competent knowledge of the state and interests of their own country.' (P. 159.)

The English Minister at Berlin was Joseph Ewart, a man of much self-confidence, and with somewhat too high an opinion of his own capacity. There is some reason to think that the expression of his views on the Russian question had considerable influence on Pitt and the Duke of Leeds, and that to some extent he was responsible for the attitude taken up by the Cabinet before the force of public opinion at home, of which he knew nothing, became visible. We must return, however, to our actual narrative. Auckland thus wrote to Pitt on January 29, 1791:—

'Hague.—The Petersburg despatches by this messenger are what we expected. The Empress expressly desires our good offices to obtain for her a new frontier, *c'est-à-dire, Oczakow et son district jusqu'au Dniester.*

'If our negotiations at Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Madrid should have any material success, it is probable that we still may have means to intimidate effectually; but it seems more reasonable, under all the circumstances, to presume that nothing beyond good words will be given by Spain, by Vienna, and by Denmark; and that no assistance is to be expected from Sweden otherwise than *à poids de l'or.* And, lastly, that the Empress will not recede from her present demand (in which her new and brilliant successes will have fortified her) otherwise than by force.

'The question then comes, Will you seriously prepare for war, for the object in question? I make no difficulty in saying that I hope you will not, because I think it extremely difficult in the execution, and certain to produce an expence far beyond any adequate object to be attained. In that opinion I am influenced partly by feeling the importance of peace to your whole system of government, and to the support perhaps of our existence as a great and prosperous nation; and partly, also, by a suspicion that we over-rate the object in question. It is a good thing, certainly, both to humble Russia and to check her progress; but she is humbled by giving up such immense conquests as she is willing to cede; and her progress, if I am not misinformed, is little advanced by the possession of Oczakow. If the Turks proceed to fortify the banks of the Dniester, or if they restore only their fortifications on the banks of the Danube upon a better system of defence, I am assured that, in any future war, they would have at least as good means of resistance as in the case of the present

disastrous war. Time will not allow me to add all that presents itself farther on this subject, because the messenger will be too late for the tide.

'I ought to mention, because I presume that one of our difficulties turns on the Court of Berlin, that I have strong reasons to believe, from various conversations with persons who ought to know, that his Prussian Majesty is as averse to entering into war with Russia as he is desirous to find a pretext for war with Austria; and that if we can, *honnêtement*, get him out of the scrape, *il ne demande pas mieux*.

'The intimation about sending Schlieffre (which *secretly* originated from the Pensionary and from me) may perhaps be applied to this end; and I am not sure that it can by any possibility do mischief, and it may do much good. Whether any congress could be proposed upon some slight modification of the old principle, or upon the idea that *if* Oczakow should be given, some explanations should also be given in a previous negotiation as to the future security to the Turks; and in the meantime to continue our ostensible menaces and intentions to come forward.' (P. 22.)

It is difficult to understand how Pitt came to disregard this sound advice; for disregard it he did, as this correspondence, as well as the course of Parliamentary events, already indicates. For it was not until the feeling of the country against a war with Russia was strongly shown that the Prime Minister changed his policy, and was fain to be satisfied with merely diplomatic attempts to prevent the Empress Catherine from obtaining an increase of territory at the expense of Turkey.

The letter from Auckland to Pitt, which has already been quoted, was written at the end of January. On March 5, in a letter to Grenville, Auckland again presses these views on his correspondent:—

'Private.

'1791, March 5, Hague.—This letter will go by the messenger who carries the answer from Sweden, and sundry despatches from Copenhagen. The sum total of our position in regard to those two Courts is, that we have nothing to expect from the Danish Ministry, which is decidedly devoted to Russia; and that Sweden, unless previously purchased by the Empress, would incline to undertake one campaign upon payment of one million and a half sterling, and sundry other advances, presents, guarantees of Turkish subsidies, and continued subsidies, which in reason cannot be estimated at less than another million and a half. In plain truth this business has for some time appeared to me to beckon us towards an abyss of debts and difficulties, at a moment of general fermentation in the world, when it appears essential, possibly to the very existence of our Government and of every other civilized State, that we should maintain our own internal peace, and the uninterrupted course of our prosperity.

'I have, perhaps, too often harped on this string, which I have

little pretension to touch; but the subject affects me so far that it carries me above delicacies which, on other occasions, would have restrained me; and I have collected with concern from your silence, and from the silence of Mr. Pitt, in answer to all that I have written, that my sentiments and those of the Grand Pensionary have not the good fortune to be approved by you. I continue to think, however, that the best mode would have been to have sent some person of weight with powers and propositions to have adjusted the business on condition of demolishing Ockzakow; still accompanying that step, if it had been thought necessary for our dignity, with some display of preparations both towards the Baltic and the Archipelago.' (P. 38.)

Grenville, it is obvious from this letter, was of the same mind as the Prime Minister. In a postscript to a letter to Lord Westmorland, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, we find this remarkable sentence:—

'Let me hint to you *quite confidentially* that it is by no means improbable that we may very soon have another armament with a view to force the Empress of Russia to reasonable terms of peace. But I think we shall not make any call upon you for assistance, unless we should be actually engaged in war.' (P. 42.)

No words could more clearly express a decided expectation of war unclouded by any apprehension, and unmingled with any doubt as to the feeling either of Parliament or of the country. Yet within a few days* the policy of the Government had quite changed, and Grenville was about to replace Leeds and to act on wholly different lines. It seems to be clear also that not only was Grenville favourable to the anti-Russian policy of Pitt before it was received unfavourably by the nation, but that, in spite of having to carry out one of an opposite kind, he regretted the necessity for the change. There is a noticeable letter to Joseph Ewart, written on May 25, whose opinions in favour of an active alliance with Prussia against Russia had, as we have already intimated, probably some weight with Pitt. This communication recognises the absolute impossibility of hostile action against Russia, not because it was impolitic, but because it could not be carried out in the teeth of a strong opposition at home:—

'Private.

'1791, May 25, Whitehall.—I write this in answer to your letter

* The following are the important dates of the course of events in this curious episode:—March 27, despatch of ultimatum to Russia; March 28, message from the King to Parliament asking for an increase of armaments; March 29, discussion in the House of Commons when the message was carried; March 30 and 31, Cabinet councils; 30th, messenger sent to countermand the delivery of the ultimatum.

marked private of the 17th instant. You will readily conceive how much we regret the necessity of incurring that risk, which you state as probable in the event of our not complying with the request for sending a fleet into the Black Sea. But the same circumstances which compelled the departure from the original line adopted, operate with at least equal force against our recurring partially to it. I do not mean to give you a positive opinion which shall apply to every possible case that might be supposed; very exorbitant demands on the part of the Empress, very insolent language towards this country, or proof of a real disposition in other powers to act in order to prevent the too great progress of the Russian arms, might alter our situation. But, as we now stand, if we were to give assurances of active support, we must give them (to whatever case they applied) under the impression that it might be impossible to fulfil them. It is therefore extremely important that, whatever may be the effect of speaking plainly, we should do so and not have to reproach ourselves, or suffer Prussia to reproach us with any intentional deceit. To our defensive alliance, as such, we certainly can and will adhere, but the degree of active share which we may be able to take in those political measures which might be advantageous to our system, must depend on circumstances for which, as yet, it is impossible to answer. You will at once see how strongly this reasoning applies to the case of the revolution in Poland, and to the subject of your letter to Count Zinzendorff, upon which it is absolutely necessary that this country should not be pledged one step beyond assurances of good wishes and amicable dispositions, such as I have stated in my despatch to Mr. Hailes. I am indeed strongly of opinion that the Prussian Government should proceed with caution on that subject, and not commit themselves too far till there is more ground for reasoning on the probable issue of the business than they seem as yet to be in possession of. At the same time I entirely agree with you in thinking that the establishment of an hereditary monarchy in Poland on the footing now proposed, if it can be carried without involving Prussia in war with the Imperial Courts, is a point advantageous to our common interest.' (P. 80.)

It thus becomes more than ever evident that public opinion in England was the cause of this change of policy on the part of Pitt, who appears to have persisted for some time in his first line in the face of the advice of those who were most competent to aid him. In regard, for example, to the foolish attempt to induce Spain to be a party to an alliance against Russia, Lord St. Helens wrote in the middle of the negotiations in the summer, 'I never rightly understood 'why their interposition [*i.e.* of Spain] in the business in 'question should have been deemed worth the soliciting after 'their having declared, as they did from the first, that they 'would in no event support it by any demonstration of vigour 'either in word or deed' (p. 88). In truth, Pitt never seems to have appreciated the worthlessness of the object of

his policy, and it is astonishing that a minister presently so pacific in his views, so eager for economy, and so anxious as a rule to keep free from continental entanglements, could ever have started on this particular line of policy. The unexampled rapidity and completeness with which he abandoned it is as remarkable and as great a sign of Pitt's capacity as a parliamentary leader as his original blunder is a blot on his reputation as a statesman. There was no hesitation, no exhibition of false pride; he saw that if he would retain his influence in Parliament and in the country he must at once change his policy, and he did so boldly and decisively in obedience to public opinion.

Once, however, the determination to abandon warlike for diplomatic pressure was taken, the ultimate result of the change could never be in doubt. No continental Power had the least wish to encounter Russia alone. Austria was anxious for and was negotiating a peace; the Treaty of Warela in the previous year had put an end to hostilities between Catherine and Gustavus of Sweden; Prussia was only desirous of getting some advantage for herself, she had no real interest in preventing Russia from acquiring Turkish territory, and thus the retention by Russia of the debateable land on which she had set her heart became a certainty. Whilst, therefore, the correspondence throughout the summer which is printed in this volume assists us to understand the course of events at the time, and throws light on the diplomacy and diplomatists of the age, it does not give us new information in regard to any event of high importance. We are able to follow the negotiations at St. Petersburg which Fawkener was sent to carry on with the Russian Court with the aid of Whitworth, the resident minister; we obtain side lights on what is occurring at Berlin and the Hague; but the conclusion, with some changes of details, was certain, and the interest of Europe in the East was, before the signature of the Treaty of Galatz, overshadowed by the progress of events in France.

Although the transition in interest from the Eastern question to the consequences of the Revolution in France was gradual among English ministers, nothing can be more striking than the wholly opposed policies of Pitt in regard to these two subjects. His determination to adhere strictly to a policy of non-intervention both in the internal disturbances of France and in her relations with the central European Powers was in marked contrast to his keen wish to dictate terms of peace to Russia in her war with Turkey,

and to his unconcealed regret when public opinion at home put an end to this attempt. The difference in Pitt's policy is more remarkable since at that time any weakening of the power of France was in some senses desirable in the interests of England, whereas Great Britain could not possibly be affected by the transfer of a fortress and a piece of territory on the shores of the Black Sea. From the point of view of an historical observer, after the lapse of a century, it would not have been surprising had Pitt taken some part in the anti-French movement which arose on the Continent in the summer of 1791, and which had its first clearly defined step in the meeting of the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia at Pillnitz in August of that year. But Pitt was at that very moment averse to any interference in French affairs, though he was vainly endeavouring, by means of diplomacy, to prevent Russia from retaining her hold on any of the possessions of Turkey. On August 19 Lord Grenville wrote one of his last notes on the latter question to Lord Auckland, when he had just seen his and the Prime Minister's Russian policy completely fail by the signature of the Treaty of Galatz:—

'Private.

'1791, August 19, Whitehall.—It is a great mortification to me to find myself so much hurried as to make it impossible for me to write to you more than a few lines to acknowledge your interesting and confidential correspondence for the last fortnight. With respect to the Petersburg business, it is *une affaire faite*, and I consider it is one of the first duties of my situation not to shift the blame of transactions which have not entirely succeeded on those who have acted honourably, and to the best of their judgment, in the execution of their instructions. To you, in full confidence, I will say, that there are points on which, reasoning at a distance from the spot, I could have wished they had acted otherwise; but I would not, on any account, say even as much as that where I thought it would be repeated; and, after all, much must be allowed for circumstances of situation of which we cannot judge. On the whole, I am rejoiced the thing is over, and perfectly convinced that every attempt at mending it would only have added to our embarrassment while it prolonged our expence.' (P. 168.)

Four days later—on August 23—he addressed the same correspondent in quite a different strain in reference to the apparent intention of Austria and Prussia to take some step towards the restoration of the French King. He pointed out the position of Great Britain in statesmanlike language, though, in truth, the words apply with equal, if not greater, force to the contest between Russia and Turkey, with which both England and Holland were even less vitally concerned:—

'The conclusion,' writes the Foreign Secretary in the latter portion of this letter, 'of the Sistovo business has removed every difficulty which there was in the way of our speaking out, and avowing our determination of the most scrupulous neutrality in the French business; and I now hold this language to all the Foreign Ministers in order that it may be clearly understood that we are no parties to any step the King of Prussia may take on this subject. I am uneasy about the Netherlands. Every information I have concurs to shew that the discontents there are gaining ground; and I have pretty strong grounds to believe that the discontented party will seize the first moment of the Emperor's interference in French affairs to raise their standard again, and to connect themselves openly and intimately with the National Assembly. This union of the Netherlands with France is the very thing that this country and the Republic have most to apprehend. If the Emperor's conduct had been wise, and if he had known how to avail himself of his own situation, the measures we had taken to prevent this union would have been successful. But as it is, I fear the game is no longer in our hands. Under these circumstances, it is perhaps fortunate for us that the Hague Convention was not ratified, and I think we shall do wisely to show a great degree of reserve on that point at present. In all other respects it appears to me that the maritime powers may look with great indifference and security at the new scenes which are arising. Some of the principal powers of Europe seem not yet to have learnt that lesson which we have been taught by a severe experience, that no acquisition is worth the expence of conquering and maintaining it. If, while they are gaining this experience, they will leave Great Britain and Holland to the undisturbed enjoyment of their external and *internal* tranquillity, I know not what more we can wish. Our only danger (to either of us) is at home, and for averting that danger peace and economy are our best resources; and with them I flatter myself *we* have not, and I hope Holland has not, much to fear. Excuse this long dissertation to which your last letter has given rise.' (P. 171.)

'Peace and economy' expressed in a phrase the guiding principle of the Cabinet at the time, and a great deal of the correspondence which is now made public in this volume is illustrative of the carrying into action of this policy—a policy which did not cease until the declaration of war by the Convention on February 1, 1793. It was a period so full of extraordinary and unexpected events, that it is not surprising that the coolest-headed statesmen were altogether out of their depth; the forces which the French Revolution had set loose were quite new factors both in war and diplomacy, and disappointed the sanguine hopes of Pitt and his Cabinet in the maintenance of neutrality as much as they upset all calculations and opinions in regard to the results of the intervention of Austria and Prussia.

Up to this point Lord Grenville had to some extent to hide

the views of himself and his colleagues from the continental Powers. Ostensibly he was in negotiation with Russia, having Prussia for his partner, for the purpose of concluding the Turkish war. But as soon as that event occurred he hastened, as the above quotation shows, to avow his policy so that it might be clearly understood at Berlin that Great Britain could take no part in any action against France. It is not surprising that the attitude of the English Cabinet should have puzzled continental statesmen, more, perhaps, than the sudden change in regard to the Russian demands. It was altogether opposed to the traditional policy and sentiment of Great Britain, apart from the special circumstance of the possible injury to the monarchical principle which would result from the triumph of republicanism in France. There were, to the ordinary observer, special reasons why Great Britain should form one of a league against France, in addition to those of a more general character. The temptation was undoubtedly strong, and the fact that the Cabinet decided upon and adhered to a policy of external peace and internal economy, marks this particular time as the beginning of what may be termed the modern foreign policy of England. It was a change not only from a traditional rivalry with France, which had continued, with some occasional exceptions in the seventeenth century, from mediæval times, but from that interference in continental affairs which had involved England over and over again in foreign campaigns, by which she had never really profited, though the theoretical balance of power may have in some instances been retained. The new policy was one which marks Pitt as the predecessor of the modern Liberal party, nor should it be forgotten that his colleague Grenville, who had the actual carrying out of the foreign policy of the Cabinet, became in after years the leader of the Whig party, the immediate predecessor of Grey, Melbourne, and Russell. The change had one exception. The antagonism with Russia—the personal struggle between Catherine and Pitt—was a new feature in English politics. Russia was a fresh factor in Western politics, and it was in regard to the now obsolete question of the Oczakow territory that a phase arose of international relations which was to be of the first importance both to Great Britain and Russia. For the attitude of Great Britain to Russia has not changed in the century that has passed since Pitt brought into the House the message which was virtually the first step towards warlike measures against Russia. The principles which

actuated him when the central European Powers were preparing to undertake what Lord Auckland termed 'a crusade 'against France' were those which have since governed successive administrations. The war with France was forced upon this country and was undertaken reluctantly by the Cabinet of Pitt. It was not caused by a change of mind on the part of ministers, and the time that elapsed before the war began emphasises in every particular the broad statement of policy announced by Grenville to Auckland in his letter of August 23. That statement met with the cordial approval of this clear-minded man: 'Your Lordship's further re-'marks,' he writes in reply to it (p. 177), 'on our position 'and relative interests with respect to the interference of 'foreign Powers in the French business are so consonant 'to the best judgement that I can form, and carry such 'conviction to my mind, that I have perused them with 'extreme pleasure.' Nor were Auckland's prognostications of the difficulty of the undertaking falsified. In the same letter he writes: 'As to the proposed crusade against 'France, I suspect it will halt grievously in the execution.' In a letter written somewhat earlier in the same month—on the 8th—he expresses his views on the position of affairs in a yet clearer manner and with a foresight which was wholly absent from the councils of the German Powers:—

'It appears that this French business will turn the whole current of political ideas; and it is probable that both the Imperial Courts will enter into it. Your Lordship will see, in one of my enclosures of this day, that the Court of Berlin is allured by a speculation of dismemberment. We cannot prevent the bursting of this new storm; and it appears to me that we may watch its progress without any material danger or inconvenience. In the mean time, this very troubled state of Europe is a sufficient reason for our having a large fleet, and I apprehend that it may be necessary to continue to retain more seamen and ships than in strict economy we should wish. Would it not now be right to send a part of our fleet out to exercise, if it were only for the sake of forming the seamen, and of obviating the objection that they have passed the whole summer idly at anchor?

'In the French transaction it appears to be the plan for the powers who interfere to proceed on the principle of restoring the French King to his entire authority; such an avowal will, on the one hand, unite the whole French nation against them; but on the other it is difficult and dangerous for sovereigns possessing an absolute authority to become the armed mediators of a free Constitution or moderated Monarchy to France. The attacks on France will accelerate the bankruptcy.' (P. 159.)

It is interesting to note how truly Auckland foresaw the

most remarkable result of the German alliance, since it united the whole French nation against the invaders; for the first time the French people, as distinguished from the personal rulers of France, were the foes of the German Powers. It is possible that with some tact this result might have been delayed or modified, since, in the first instance, the German Powers were ostensibly not at war with a view to an interference in the internal affairs of France. Austria was nominally, at any rate, defending herself against French aggression and proselytism in the Netherlands.

But on July 26, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, the general-in-chief of the German armies, issued from Coblentz that celebrated proclamation to the French nation which, by pledging the allies to restore the monarchical power, which had already practically fallen, raised the whole national spirit of France to resist external interference in home affairs. The advance of the allies into France was watched by the English Cabinet and by the representatives of the country abroad with impartial eyes, but with a general expectation amongst most men that there was no question as to the ultimate success of the German armies. Even Auckland was of this opinion. 'I am not so clear that the combined 'armies will advance towards Paris without resistance, but 'I believe they will be victorious in all considerable engage-'ments' (p. 300). This was what he wrote to Grenville on August 14. Within little more than two months, however, the invaders had been driven from French soil, and the expedition had not only completely failed to effect the object of the allied Powers, but had by its want of success strengthened the Republic in France, and stimulated the vanity and self-confidence of the nation to such a pitch as to make them believe that they were the arbiters of Europe. This campaign in the east of France had thus not only negative but positive results; if it had not been undertaken and failed, it is possible that Great Britain would not have been involved before another year had elapsed in a war with France. The truth was that people reasoned on the prospects of the campaign in ignorance of the facts. There is a curious illustration of this in a letter from J. B. Burges, the under-secretary for foreign affairs, to Grenville, written on September 3:—

'1792, September 3, Whitehall.—The account Mr. Jenkinson gave me in a pretty long conversation I had with him of the Prussian and Austrian armies, and of the general state of affairs in the country he has just quitted, corresponds very much with what your Lordship has

already received, and has little of what you do not know. He tells me, however, that a very remarkable animosity subsists between the Austrians and Prussians, of which he saw various instances which have satisfied him that, whatever harmony may subsist between the two monarchs, their respective subjects will on every occasion catch at any opportunity which may present itself of quarrelling. When Mr. Jenkinson left England he appeared perfectly satisfied that the Duke of Brunswick would meet with neither difficulty nor delay in getting to Paris; that what he had to do there would speedily be effected; and that the Prussian army would return safely at the end of the campaign. On every one of these points his opinion now appears to be completely changed.'

Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, was in a position and of a character to be as well informed as anyone could be. His first opinions, it is clear, were absolutely wrong. The Marquis of Buckingham, who was in constant and unreserved communication with his brother, writing to the latter at the end of September, and commenting on the want of assistance rendered by the royalists of France to the German armies, remarks:—

'In this particular the emigrants seem to have deceived themselves and the Duke, and his progress is necessarily and proportionally more slow. Still, however, as it seems clear that both Spain and Sardinia are actually added to the list of enemies, and that the Empire and Switzerland are everything but avowed enemies, I will hope that this number will put the combined armies in Paris.' (P. 318.)

Buckingham had his foibles, but he was a close and well-informed observer of contemporary events, and it is clear that the collapse of the campaign before the winter set in was not, at the moment when he wrote this letter, in the least expected by him.

The course of events thoroughly justified the policy of non-intervention which Pitt had decided to follow; that it was displeasing to the German Powers was to be expected, but that Great Britain was to gain any positive advantages from it was altogether erroneous.

'There is great soreness,' writes Lord Auckland in September, 'respecting our position in politics both at Berlin and at the Duke of Brunswick's quarters. The impression at the latter is that all the risk and expense falls on the allied force, and that the solid benefit resulting from the enterprise belongs to Great Britain. Cela peut être, cependant ce n'est pas notre faute.' (P. 314.)

The whole character of Prussian statesmanship was so essentially selfish that it was not surprising that this Court should regard the attitude of Great Britain as one not of

mere inaction, but of inaction with the hope and intention of deriving advantage from the contest between the German Powers and France. Prussia had recently exhibited to the world a striking instance of national duplicity and selfishness in taking part with Russia against the Poles, and in absorbing without the least right a portion of Polish territory. And it may be observed on this point that this action on the part of Prussia had alienated from her English sympathy in her contest with France, so that the national feeling of England was essentially neutral. Events were later on to bring Great Britain and Prussia into a close though inharmonious alliance, but for the moment the country regarded the contest in Eastern France with absolute impartiality.

In truth, the main interest of the time was centred in the capital of France. There an extraordinary political and social drama was being enacted, which was watched with breathless interest by the whole of England and by her statesmen with astonishment at the apparent madness which was gradually bringing a war between the two countries within measurable distance.

At first there was a sanguine expectation that peace would continue between the two countries, for even if there was a desire for war on the part of France, there was none here. It was even thought that under certain circumstances Great Britain might have to play the *rôle* of a peacemaker.

'I perceive,' writes Grenville on June 19, 1792, to Auckland, 'from your last letter that you think me too tolerant of the ignorance and absurdity of the French mission here, and you hint at the propriety of my making application at Paris for the removal of M. de Chauvelin, and of your forbidding M. de Maulde your house. I own that my persuasion is extremely strong of the propriety of avoiding any sort of *éclat* on this subject The quarrelling with France would give encouragement to the persons in both countries who wish to introduce French maxims of government amongst us, and would give to them the command and direction of that very prevailing wish for peace which I take to be the ruling sentiment both here and in Holland. And the shewing pique and ill humour where it can be avoided, without meaning to go further, would certainly be undignified and hazardous.

'Nothing can be more unsettled than the state of things at Paris. The Court is manœuvring to gain time, and the rest are quarrelling among themselves. It has been hinted to Lord Gower that if M. Talleyrand is disagreeable here he may be recalled; but I very much doubt whether I shall avail myself even of this hint. If the French have still any hopes of making mischief here they will easily find instruments for it without M. Talleyrand; and the taking

measures to get rid of him would give to him and his projects a consequence which I trust they have not. As soon as the German troops arrive, whatever is the ruling party at Paris must apply to us to mediate for them. Such at least is my speculation. Even in that case, it would, I think, be right to hold back, and to show no anxiety for that sort of interference, but rather the contrary.

'But, if the opportunity presents itself, I know no end of this troubled scene so advantageous as the bringing about, by our assistance, an agreement which, I am quite convinced, all the parties will equally wish.' (P. 281.)

But the expectation of peace gradually faded away, until at length, as we have already mentioned, war broke out in the spring of 1793. Thus the character of the correspondence in this volume, so far as regards the position of England, quite changes after this date; we have done with hopes and expectations of peace, we are now concerned with the conduct of a continental war, and with the measures necessary for keeping up that alliance with the German Powers from which Pitt and Grenville had desired to keep free, but to which they had been driven. The correspondence presents an interesting picture of the difficulties which were in the way of the English Government. To conduct a war unhampered by alliances was difficult enough in those days, but when it had to be carried on with insincere and selfish allies at a distance from England, and with by no means a first-rate organisation, the obstacles in the way of a successful issue were largely multiplied. We come across them constantly in these pages, and they added enormously to the labours of the Prime Minister, who was, in truth, the principal war minister.

We must return for a moment, however, to the time immediately before the breaking out of the war, and quote a letter from Grenville to Auckland, which shows us the beginning of the disappearance of the hopes of peace and betrays a somewhat uneasy feeling at the state of affairs:—

'Most Secret and Confidential.

'1792, November 26, Whitehall.—I am afraid from all that has passed relative to the negotiation of which you speak, as well as from other circumstances, that there is too much reason to believe the French are determined to drive us to extremities. A very few days must now probably decide this question, and we feel very unwilling to afford anything like a pretext which could diminish the strong impression to be expected here from so unprovoked an attack. In the meantime our situation is sufficiently uneasy, particularly from the great difficulty of getting *accurate* intelligence of what is really doing at Brest, the accounts of which are various and contradictory.

I have always been told that the commerce which Brest carries on with the Dutch ports for naval stores affords to that Government a facility of acquiring such intelligence infinitely better than we can. I wish therefore that you would urge the Pensionary both to communicate a *précis* of what he does know, and, if necessary, to increase his means of information on this very essential object.

'I trust and hope that we shall remain quite quiet in our interior. The activity and insolence of the French emissaries and their allies in this country have certainly increased much with Dumourier's success; but I think the loyalty of the people at large, and its attachment to our established Government, has increased with the efforts of those who wished to destroy those sentiments.

'This letter was written (as well as my despatch) previous to my receiving my Paris account. I can add nothing to what I have said on the subject officially; but the circumstance makes me of course still more anxious on the subject of the naval stores, to which I have adverted in my despatch.' (P. 341.)

During the winter the relations of the two countries became more and more strained, the diplomatic intercourse in England became cooler and cooler, as is very well shown in some of the letters which are printed in this volume, until at length, upon the execution of Louis XVI., the Cabinet abandoned their hopes of peace. On January 23 Grenville wrote in these decisive terms to Auckland:—

'Private.

'1793, January 24, Whitehall.—The business is now brought to its crisis, and I imagine that the next despatch to you, or the next but one, will announce the commencement of hostilities. Probably the French will commence them; but if not, after all lines of communication are interrupted of necessity, and after all hope of satisfactory explanation is over, I do not see how we can remain any longer *les bras croisés*, with a great force ready for action, that force avowedly meant against France, and the language and conduct of that power giving every day more instead of less ground of offence to us and all the world.

'This last horrible act of unnecessary cruelty and outrage on all men's feelings will have its effect. I cannot describe to you the universal indignation it has excited here, but you may collect it, amongst other circumstances, from the audience at one of the play-houses stopping the play, and ordering the curtain to be dropped, as soon as the news was announced to them.' (P. 372.)

War was declared by France on February 1 following; thenceforward the correspondence is concerned chiefly with the carrying on of the war. On the one hand the attention of the Cabinet was directed to purely military and naval operations; on the other the alliances with Prussia, Austria, and Holland had to be managed by diplomatic means and agents, and the necessary pressure exerted on these Powers,

in order that the contest, once entered upon, might be conducted with vigour. Holland we were bound by treaty to defend, but her capacity as an ally was small. Fortunately, Auckland remained for some little time longer at the Hague, exercising much more influence than that of an ordinary ambassador. 'I have, during some days,' he wrote, in March 1793, 'assumed many of the functions of prime 'minister of the Republic. I will, however, bear that 'faculty meekly, and will retire from it on the first moment 'that the dangerous agitation and crisis has in any degree 'ceased' (p. 383). In fact, he had three functions to fulfil —to represent the country at the Hague for ordinary purposes, to act as the adviser and encourager of the Dutch Government, and to supply the Cabinet at home with the best foreign information and with his own opinions. The difficulties with Austria and Prussia were of a different kind: the possessions of the former in the Netherlands were in jeopardy; she had therefore, to some extent, a stronger motive than Prussia to act with vigour. But the latter, though she had embarked long before England on an anti-French campaign, was bent on obtaining subsidies and money assistance; she had *arrière-pensées* connected with the partition of Poland, and fresh territorial aggrandisements were not out of sight. Against a nation mad with enthusiasm and with generals and armies full of military zeal, no country could be a less fit antagonist than Prussia, since at every turn she was counting the value of her assistance to her allies. Some of the letters now published in this volume abundantly illustrate a position full of difficulty to the English Cabinet. Thus, on September 30, Mr. Burges, the under-secretary for foreign affairs, wrote as follows to Grenville:—

'1793, September 30, Whitehall.—Lord Yarmouth sends over a note delivered to him on the 23rd by M. Lucchesini. It contains a strong remonstrance on the alarming prospective of the prolongation of the war beyond this campaign, with complaints of the expenses and losses sustained by the King of Prussia. His Prussian Majesty declares the impossibility he is under of continuing these heavy expenditures, more especially in consequence of the embarrassments which, he says, have been thrown in the way of his negotiation in Poland by the Jacobin faction. These, he adds, must oblige him to fly to the defence of his new frontiers in that quarter, which the Poles appear determined to insult. He goes on to say that the main object of the convention of the 14th July has already been obtained, the French having been obliged to evacuate the conquests they have made; but that he is still strongly disposed to enforce the other object of the indemnification,

He concludes by saying that, in order to enable him to take a further part in the war, it will be necessary to add two secret articles to the late convention—the one, containing on our part a formal and previous guaranty of the new Prussian possessions in Poland; the other, an engagement that, in case the war should not be concluded this campaign, a subsidy should be granted to his Prussian Majesty by the belligerent powers as the terms by which his future assistance is to be secured, and that this country should not only contribute its proportion, but should engage to facilitate the execution of this point on the part of the other powers. On these conditions M. de Lucchesini states that he is authorised to open a negotiation with Lord Yarmouth.

'Lord Yarmouth says M. de Lucchesini appeared much ashamed of this paper, and that he assured him that both the manner and the time of the King of Prussia's departure from the army would be such as not to injure the common cause, by affording room to surmise that he had withdrawn himself from it.' (P. 430.) *

This letter Grenville seems to have communicated to Pitt, for on October 2 there is a letter from the Prime Minister in reference to the contents of M. Lucchesini's note. In this and the previous letter we are able to see at a glance the position both of Prussia and Great Britain in regard to the partition of Poland. Prussia, in fact, was endeavouring to sell her armies partly in order to obtain a treaty right to her newly acquired territory:—

'1793, October 2, 11 A.M., Downing Street.—I agree entirely with you that the answer to Lucchesini's note must be a refusal, at least of the guaranty of the Prussian acquisition in Poland. A subsidy is also out of the question unless in addition to his contingent conformably to the alliance, he will leave any additional body of troops either absolutely at our disposal or to act under our direction, according to some specific plan which may be satisfactory to us; for example, in acquiring possession of Alsace. There is probably little chance of carrying this point, but it seems to me worth trying; and with this view, it may be right to frame an answer to Lucchesini's note, on the idea that the King of Prussia is sincere in his wish to be on a cordial footing with us, and to co-operate in our views of indemnification for ourselves and for Austria, as far as circumstances will permit him; that we can have no doubt of his scrupulous performance of his engagements to us, and that if he is disposed to make efforts in the common cause, beyond what he is bound to do by treaty, and is only restrained by the want of resources, we are ready to discuss what pecuniary succours can be afforded him. I should prefer this way of treating the subject to an absolute refusal of all idea of subsidy, as I think this mode will be less likely to produce a coldness between us and the Court of Berlin: and

* The great difficulties in connection with the payment of subsidies to Prussia are well brought out in the 'Paget Papers,' reviewed in our last number (ante, p. 135).

if he agrees to the idea, it would be more advantageous than any co-operation he has yet afforded in the war. The expense will be comparatively speaking no object, if it produces a real and efficient force at our disposal, in a quarter where it is essential to act with vigour, as part of the general plan for the next campaign. No objection can I think arise to making such an answer as may at least leave an opening for this plan; and we shall of course reserve for further consideration the proportion of any subsidy to the force which he may be willing to furnish. It will probably occur to you that this communication from Lucchesini ought to be mentioned at Vienna; and the possibility of the King of Prussia withdrawing himself next campaign furnishes a strong additional reason for pressing the Court of Vienna to enable us to satisfy the Elector of Bavaria, in order, if possible, to secure his troops as a substitute in part for the Prussian force.

'I should think it clearly right to secure the troops from Saxe-Meiningen, and any others that can be got on the terms given to the Landgrave, provided the troops are reasonably good. On that point I imagine Lord Yarmouth can satisfy himself, with Major Gunn's assistance.' (P. 433.)

A letter of later date from Lord Yarmouth shows us still more clearly the state of feeling at Berlin; part of it manifests considerable soreness on the writer's part at the special mission of Lord Malmesbury :—

'1793, November 24, Manheim.—I was on my road to England when I received the honour of your Lordship's despatch of the 14th instant, announcing to me Lord Malmesbury's appointment to my present mission; and, though it was accompanied by the kindest private letter from you, I must say that I did not expect so sudden a supercession.

'The state of the Prussian business is, in three words, this: the king has never intended to separate from the other powers, but perceiving England to be very liberal and very eager, he thought the opportunity favourable to get a large sum of money for doing that which he could not avoid doing without it. With that view he made the proposal which you so properly negatived, and he has acquiesced in that refusal. He has done more, for he has again taken his part as a principal in the war; but as a man is never so angry as when he is detected in a mean plan, especially if it has failed of success, the king directed Monsieur Jacobi to make the angry declaration which appears to have created so much alarm. I cannot suppose that you will receive it in writing, but I will venture to assert that when Lord Malmesbury's assistance was applied for the danger was over, the victory was gained (by the fresh orders sent at the same time to the Duke of Brunswick), and the late menace was only the last struggle of disappointed meanness.

'Whether under these circumstances the appointment of *a new* Minister at Berlin is necessary to the public service your Lordship is certainly to determine. I do not presume to say more than that every fresh advance which His Majesty makes to the Court of Berlin will

give the king an higher idea of his own importance, and of our dependence in a proportionate degree. An extreme case must have an extreme remedy, but my principal business in returning to England was to show that your alarms from this quarter may be prevented in future by methods simple in themselves, and, I believe, perfectly within your reach. If your late agent can do this I do not say that he will do much, but I think your Lordship will be disposed to listen to him under such circumstances before another man is brought into his place.' (P. 470.)

In truth, England was regarded at this particular time as a gold mine from which unlimited supplies could be drawn. 'German princes,' wrote Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, early in 1794, 'think England a pretty good milch cow, 'but surely hardly to the extent supposed in the account 'you have transmitted; and I fear that Holland is very 'little willing, and Austria and the Empire very little able, 'to give money to save themselves from ruin' (p. 497). This sentence contains the key note to a large amount of this correspondence, and explains briefly the whole state of affairs at this period. In regard to the Anglo-continental alliance, to no men could such bargainings and expenditure be more offensive from every point of view, whether as high-spirited statesmen or as guardians of the public peace, than to Pitt and Grenville. It was not everyone who could look at this state of affairs with the complacency of Lord Malmesbury, who, in the course of a long private letter to Pitt, placed the question under discussion before the Prime Minister in these plain terms:—

'The question resolves itself to a very narrow compass. *Can we do without the King of Prussia or can we not?* If we can, he is not worth the giving a guinea for; if we cannot, I am afraid we cannot give too many. We must only look to the making the best and quickest bargain possible, to the purchasing him as reasonably and to the binding him as fast and as securely as we can.' (P. 494.)

The position remained the same throughout the period covered by these letters. Nor was Austria much better than Prussia; she was not, perhaps, so essentially selfish, but she was wanting in vigour, and her poverty made her a beggar. In the Netherlands she seemed to think that she had a negotiable asset, to be mortgaged as security for loans from Great Britain. There was a happy ingenuity about this idea, since any hypothecation of the Netherlands would necessarily cause them to be defended by this country, and, even if captured by France, to be recovered back at the end of a war in return for French colonial possessions which we might otherwise retain.

'They (the Austrians) wish to prove to us' (wrote Thomas Grenville to his brother on September 1, 1794) 'that their offer of security upon the revenues of the Low Countries should at least by us, who always insist on those territories as remaining at the peace in the hands of Austria, be accepted as a good and ample mortgage for the repayment of the sums which they want for this year and the next; but, if it is true that they do not feel interested at heart in these possessions, or if they think us so earnest in our wishes on this subject that they may safely throw the whole of it upon us, their offer of a *hypothèque* on those possessions takes a much more suspicious character; nor is it, perhaps, an unreasonable jealousy on my part to apprehend that they may wish you to have a mortgage of two millions on the Netherlands, as an inducement to you hereafter to give up some of your French acquisitions in the West Indies in order to recover for them a country in which you will have a large pecuniary stake, added to the ordinary course of political considerations. Much at least of Thugut's conversation would seem to tally with this view of the matter. It is observable that he perpetually recurs to its being a settled point that, *de façon ou d'autre*, the Netherlands will be secured to Austria at the peace, and yet that, in his view of the military operations to be pursued, he never seems to consider them as a main object of defence, and is so little disposed to make them so that he expresses much reluctance as to the idea proposed of engaging Austria to furnish so large an army *to act in that country*, which, he thinks, might be better employed elsewhere. Add to this his remarking that England might be satisfied by the irrecoverable detriment done to the navy and the commerce of France, and his contrasting the difference in points of acquisitions made by Great Britain with the total failure on the side of Austria; and it is no great refinement to suspect the whole of this to lead to an expectation that we may better buy back the Netherlands for them than put them to the expense of defending them or regaining them, and that we should have an additional motive for sacrificing some of our conquests to this object if we have two millions of money mortgaged upon it. Of the advantage which may be expected at home from adopting this shape of lending upon security rather than of furnishing a direct subsidy I do not well know how to judge; but unless the security could be shewn to be in itself substantial, and of a nature to be easily got at by those to whom it was due, I should doubt whether the public at home would be better reconciled to it than to a direct and acknowledged subsidy.' (P. 627.)

The state of affairs at Vienna is fully explained in some long and interesting letters from Thomas Grenville, from one of which the above extract is taken. They give in moderate compass a clear view of the difficulties with which the Cabinet of Great Britain had to contend, and they afford a striking picture of one phase of the great continental war. It was fortunate for the Foreign Minister and for Pitt that they were able to rely on the assistance of thoroughly trustworthy diplomatic agents. At this time Sir Morton Eden,

Auckland's brother, was the resident minister at Vienna. He did not possess his brother's capacity, and his letters are indicative of some want of necessary self-confidence. But he was essentially a trustworthy man. Thomas Grenville was sent with Lord Spencer in July 1794 on a special mission to Vienna 'to produce a more vigorous prosecution 'of the war.' In addition to considerable ability and knowledge of mankind, Thomas Grenville was thoroughly acquainted with the views and aims of the English Cabinet, though they had no fear that at Vienna, at any rate, there would be any bungling. Lord Malmesbury, who was sent as a special envoy to the scene of war on the Rhine, had a thankless and difficult task. Like Grenville, he had to endeavour to force on the vigorous prosecution of the war by a country which, to use his own words, as written in one of the last letters in this volume, 'possessed as many bad political 'qualities as can possibly exist at the same time in the same 'power—weakness, perfidy, insolence, avarice, and folly.' For the true appreciation of the course of events during the first years of the Anglo-French war nothing is more necessary than a comprehension of the relations between England and the continental Powers; they are more important than campaigns. The letters which are now for the first time made public in this volume place the state of affairs before us not only with clearness but with a sense of life which is of the utmost value. We realise the personalities of the writers and to some extent long past incidents are brought before us with the vividness of the present. It is not necessary that we should form a judgement upon each particular incident, but we should endeavour to realise the position of the English Cabinet hampered abroad on every side and exposed to the attacks at home of an able if a small Opposition.

Of the military operations on the Continent—on the Rhine, in Eastern France, and in the Low Countries—it is impossible from this correspondence to obtain any clear view. Their details have now no value for any persons except students of the art of war. The politician and the historian need only regard their general results, and as every one knows these were altogether in favour of the French. What is perhaps most striking about these letters is the emphatic manner in which they point to an absence of any clear plan of operations on the part of the allies, and to a kind of co-operative management of the campaigns by civilians as well as by soldiers. There is, for example, an elaborate minute by Pitt dated July 15, 1794, 'in reference to military operations

'against France,' which is an outline of future campaigns as well as of the nature of the alliances with Austria and Prussia. Somewhat later in the same month the Prime Minister writes to Grenville the following letter:—

'[1794] July 24.—I read over in haste this morning the despatches from Colonel Crawford and his namesake, as well as those from Wickham. It is vain to lament how backward every preparation still appears to be on the part of the Austrians, when any vigorous move on their part would ensure general success. The only real question is whether this varies any of your instructions to Crawford, Wickham or Sir Morton Eden.

'The point I chiefly doubt about is the instruction to Wickham to encourage active measures at Lyons. Everything, I think, confirms the propriety of urging to the utmost the Austrians to act for themselves, or let the Prince of Condé act for them. And possibly our diversion in Britanny may, before the next instructions arrive, have given spirits enough even to Clerfaye [Clairfait], to act in earnest.

'But any separate attempt on the part of Lyons, without certainty of support, either from the Prince de Condé or the Austrians, might risk prematurely everything in the south. The best thing, according to my reasoning, would certainly be that the Austrians or the Prince of Condé should act as soon as possible; the next best, that no attempt should be made in the south till the Convention has been obliged, as it probably will, to detatch a large proportion of force from thence to Britanny. I return to town early tomorrow, and shall wish much to know what you think on the result of these accounts. Aust has very properly stopped sending your instructions till he hears from you again. We have nothing new from the coast to-day.' (P. 604.)

This was written at the moment when the French armies were victorious in all parts of Europe, and when the great sums of money expended by England on her German allies had been altogether thrown away. No policy would have been less calculated to bring the war to a close than this of subsidising German armies over which this country had no direct control. Nor could any letter better show the hopelessness of the task which England had set herself to perform on the Continent. In this plight we must leave her when this correspondence breaks off, which is little illuminated by those successes of Great Britain, at sea and in the East, to which we may yet look back with satisfaction and pride.

We must now turn for a moment to domestic politics, and note some points on which we find interesting letters. These relate to the fall of Lord Chancellor Thurlow from office and the inclusion of the Portland Whigs in the Cabinet. The first has a purely personal interest, though the letters from and to Thurlow which are collected in this

volume show in an amusing manner the unfriendly terms on which the Chancellor was with his two principal colleagues, Pitt and Grenville, and how impossible it was for Pitt to retain him longer than he did in his administration.

The correspondence in reference to the admission of the Duke of Portland, Windham, and Lords Spencer and Fitzwilliam into the Government in 1794 is of greater importance. The letters between Pitt and Grenville, which are now for the first time printed in this volume, together with those which Lord Stanhope published in his life of Pitt, give us in consecutive form a perfectly clear account of this political incident. Of course the historical importance of the event is in the fact that an amalgamation between Pitt and some of his ablest and most respected political opponents is the strongest possible illustration of the heartiness with which the nation as a whole was flinging itself into the struggle with France. Mere party feelings were giving way to patriotism and the coalition 'put a 'national character to the administration and to the war.' Yet, when we regard this coalition after the lapse of many years, it is by no means clear that it added much directly to the administrative ability of the Cabinet. For this reason, doubtless, and because of the difficulties, always experienced in coalitions, of making satisfactory ministerial arrangements, the new departure found no favour with Lord Auckland. 'I conceive the experiment to be hazardous,' he writes to Lord Henry Spencer, 'and likely to end in disgusts and 'disappointments. I am sick of coalitions, royal, military, 'or ministerial.' * Nevertheless, it was this union of parties, of which the entry of the Whigs into Pitt's Ministry was the sign and the seal, that laid the foundation of our ultimate success. In the great perils through which the nation passed between 1793 and 1815 nothing else could have saved it. No minister, however able, could have rescued from the general fate of Europe an England divided against herself.

The chief feature of the new arrangement was a division of the work of the Home Office between Dundas and the Duke of Portland. Up to this moment the former had had the whole responsibility for the office, which was, in fact, what we should now term the Colonial, India and War Office, as well as the Home Office. Practically Dundas was left only with part of the War Department—'a very responsible 'minister,' to use his own words, 'with a great deal of trouble

* Auckland Correspondence, iii. 220.

'and without power or patronage.' But this arrangement was not easily brought about. It is clear that in the first instance the Duke of Portland desired to have the conduct of the whole business of the office. To this Pitt had insuperable objections, and proposed as a way out of the difficulty that Grenville should resign the seals of the Foreign Office and take up a portion of the work of the Home Office. This state of matters is made quite plain by the following letter:—

'1794, July 5, Downing Street.—The mistake which has arisen is, I really think, no fault of mine, but is not on that account the less embarrassing. I have just seen the Duke of Portland, and find from him that the whole arrangement, which in all other respects seems to have been satisfactorily settled, is likely to go off on this difficulty. On the other hand I feel it quite impossible to venture the experiment of leaving the War Department in the Duke's hands. You know the difficulty with *other* Departments, even with the advantage of Dundas's turn for facilitating business, and of every act of his being as much *mine* as *his*; and, therefore, if all the details of the war (particularly in one line which I need not mention) were to be settled by communication with a person new both to me and *to others*, I am sure the business could not go on for a week. This is the leading consideration with me, and seems decisive. I own, besides, that though I have a perfect confidence in the Duke of Portland's intention to act cordially, and have no doubt of our being on the best terms, I could neither expect to establish the same sort of communication with him which I am used to with Dundas, nor could I be content, on the other hand, to leave that Department to his *separate* management. Under this difficulty what can be done to prevent the arrangement breaking off, which will be, in all views, worse a thousand times than if it had never been thought of? I see in the first moment but one, which depends entirely on yourself; and I know too [well] your general way of thinking and feeling towards me, as well as your anxiety on the points now depending, to have any scruple in mentioning it; though it is a proposal that you should make what must probably be a considerable personal sacrifice. If you were to take the Home Department (new modelled as we propose it, and leaving the war to Dundas) the Duke of Portland would probably be equally satisfied with succeeding you, as he would have been with the other Department entire. The arrangement for business will, undoubtedly, be far less convenient, as well as the situation to yourself less pleasant. But the latter consideration is not likely to decide you under such circumstances, and things might at least go on in this way reasonably well. If you can devise any other expedient I shall be inexpressibly obliged to you, but I am persuaded you will agree with me, that the two things to be avoided are, that the arrangement should break off, or that the War Department should be put into the Duke of Portland's hands. I have said nothing of the effect on Dundas's situation of giving the Duke the Department entire; though I should feel that as a great objection. He

however would not, I am persuaded, let it stand in the way, if that were all, but the other difficulties are insurmountable. The result of all is, that I am afraid I must beg you, if possible, to breakfast at Wimbledon to-morrow. An early hour will on all accounts suit me best, and will probably answer best for yourself, if this heat continues. I dine at Wimbledon to-day, and will beg you to send your answer to me there, whether you can come to-morrow.' (P. 595.)

With remarkable self-abnegation, which shows how much more the public welfare than personal ambition was the motive power of his political life, Grenville at once agreed to Pitt's proposal in the following short note:—

'1794, July 5, Dropmore.—Happening to be out this evening rather later than usual, I did not get your letter till it was too late to answer it with any chance of its reaching you to-night. I may probably be at Wimbledon to-morrow before you get this, but I will at least take the chance in order to say in a very few words that I and my situation are, as you well know, entirely and always at your disposal, and that, besides, I agree with you in thinking the expedient you propose the best to avoid an alternative which seems either way embarrassing. Under these circumstances I do not ask myself whether what is proposed is or is not a sacrifice on my part, but am ready at once to say that no consideration could reconcile to my mind the standing for a moment in the way of your wishes, or of so great a public object as is in question.' (P. 596.)

This particular change of office, however, became unnecessary, as we see by another letter from the Prime Minister to Grenville:—

'1794, July 7, Downing Street.—I can now have the satisfaction to tell you that everything is finally settled, and in a better way than we expected. Your offer seems to have produced the impression which it ought; but the Duke [of Portland] says the Foreign Office is that of all others which he would the least like to accept, and that it cannot be so well in any hands as yours. The result is that he has made up his mind to accept the Home Department, *without* the management of the war, but *with* the Colonies, and, after talking with Dundas, I have thought it right to close with this suggestion.

'I have just seen the Duke of Portland a second time, and we agreed that they should all kiss hands on Friday, as I could hardly make all the moves before that time. Windham takes the Secretary at War, and all the rest is as was before understood.'

From a perusal of this letter it might have been supposed that every difficulty was removed, but this was not so. Dundas decided to give up office altogether, and wrote to this effect to the Chancellor. His position was certainly an anomalous one, for Windham was to have the conduct of the War Department, while Dundas was to perform certain duties connected with the conduct of military operations.

He was therefore deprived not only of most of his power, but was hampered with a colleague of different political views. Thereupon, on July 9, Pitt wrote the very pressing letter to Dundas which Lord Stanhope has already printed. Dundas, however, remained obdurate, and it was not until he received a letter from the King himself that he acquiesced in an arrangement which was naturally so distasteful to him personally and so unsatisfactory to him as a man of business.*

The other point which arises on this group of letters is noticeable. Pitt obviously attached great importance to finding a place for the Duke of Portland at all costs, for he saw that the adhesion of the Duke and his friends would annihilate the power of the Opposition. It is astonishing

* Lord Stanhope states (Life of Pitt, ii. 252) that 'There was a misunderstanding on the part of the Duke of Portland. . . . Dundas was to have the Colonies and the East India Department, with the conduct of the war. . . . It appeared at the last moment that his Grace expected to have the whole power and patronage which Dundas had lately possessed.' The letters which we have quoted appear to show that Lord Stanhope was mistaken, and that either Dundas was under some misapprehension after his conversation with Pitt, or else between July 7 and 9 changed his mind and would not accede to the arrangement. In order to make this clearer, we print the following letter from T. Grenville to his brother:—

'1794, July 7 [London].—I am beyond measure gratified in being able to tell you that everything is settled to the satisfaction of the Duke of Portland and his friends. The Duke had a conversation this morning with Pitt, in which he found, upon explanation, that the Home Department was to be upon the same footing as in time of peace, and that the correspondence and communication with naval and military officers was the essential part which was wished to be reserved to Dundas. As it had been thought that the colonial correspondence was likewise desired to be reserved, this explanation, in which Pitt consented to leave the colonial correspondence and every other part of the peace establishment of the Home Department, was deemed quite sufficient; and the whole arrangement is considered as settled and to take place on Friday. To you I need not express the warm and sincere pleasure which I take in this event, but I cannot help saying that I feel, too, great additional satisfaction in seeing the readiness with which you personally offered to lend yourself to any shape of accommodation; and you will be gratified, I am sure, to hear from me that the offer which you so handsomely made, though not brought into effect, has had no small share in the happy conclusion of this business. *Quod felix faustumque sit* is, I hope, as much a prediction as a prayer. I shall try to see you when you come to-morrow.' (P. 597.)

to think of the comparative levity with which he proposed to Grenville to resign his seals; the latter had all the strings of the foreign business of the country in his hands. The times were most critical. The Foreign Secretary had not only to be a man of capacity, but one on the most intimate terms with Pitt, and the very reasons which the Prime Minister gives for retaining Dundas apply with equal force to the retention of Grenville. It is obvious, then, that Pitt was looking to the strengthening of his position first of all as a Parliamentary leader, and that he considered his supremacy in the House of Commons and in the country as more essential, even than the administrative ability of his colleague, to the efficient conduct of affairs. With the Portland Whigs in the Cabinet, whilst he could pursue his own foreign policy, he could carry any measure he desired in Parliament, and have a free hand with all his financial projects.

We have, in the previous pages, dealt only with what may be called ordinary correspondence and memoranda, but this volume also contains a curious collection of an unusual kind. These are certain reports or 'Bulletins' in the French language. They were forwarded to Lord Grenville by Francis Drake, the English representative in Genoa. The writer of them is stated by Drake to be a person who was employed as secretary to the Committee of Public Safety, or, as it was also called, of Nine in Paris, and 'who conceals his real prin-'ciples under the cloak of the most extravagant Jacobinism.' These documents not only tell us what took place at the sittings of the Committee, but incidentally describe various details and events which day by day occurred in Paris during the Reign of Terror. It would be impossible to follow them one by one, since they extend from September 2, 1793, about three months after the Committee was established, to June 22 in the following year, shortly before the fall of Robespierre; to do so would be to write again the history of France for that terrible period. We must content ourselves with two extracts; the one tells of the execution of Madame Elisabeth, the other describes a sitting of the Committee at the time when Robespierre was still playing the tyrant:—

'1794, May 10–16, Paris.—"En conséquence des ordres du Comité de Salut Public du 5 et 6 Mai, Fouquier Tinville, accusateur au Tribunal Révolutionnaire, prévint par un billet le Comité, le 9 au soir, qu'il étoit disposé, ainsi que le Tribunal, à faire périr Madame Elizabeth le lendemain. Le Comité envoya chercher à minuit Henriot,

Commandant de la Garde, pour savoir s'il y avoit quelque danger à craindre de la part du peuple. La réponse d'Henriot fut qu'il n'y avoit rien à craindre; aussitôt, le Comité de Salut Public ordonna à Tinville d'agir. On eut quelque peine à trouver dans l'état-major de l'armée Parisienne un homme qui voulut se charger d'aller chercher Madame Elizabeth pour la conduire à la Conciergerie. Robespierre désigna le nommé Saralier. Ce monstre se rendit au Temple à l'entrée de la nuit; il monta chez Madame Elizabeth et Madame Royale, suivi d'un huissier appelé Monet, et d'un officier d'artillerie appelé Fontaine; la femme et les filles du geôlier y étoient aussi. Madame Elizabeth faisoit la lecture à Madame Royale quand on l'interrompit pour lui signifier qu'elle devoit se rendre à la Conciergerie. Elle reçut cet arrêt avec le plus grand courage, et dit à Madame Royale, 'Préparez-vous, ma fille, vous me suivrez bientôt.' Elle vouloit lui parler en secret; on l'en empêcha. Elle vouloit l'embrasser; Saralier s'y opposa. Comme la femme et les filles du geôlier fondoient en larmes, Saralier, craignant, a-t-il dit depuis au Comité, de n'être plus obéi par ses soldats, saisit Madame Elizabeth, voulut l'attacher, et comme elle faisoit quelque résistance pour ne pas abandonner sa nièce sans lui avoir dit quelque secret auparavant, ce monstre se porta jusqu'aux dernières fureurs; il la saisit par les cheveux et l'arracha de sa chambre. Elle passa la nuit en prières à la Conciergerie. Amenée à onze heures devant ses juges, son interrogatoire dura à peine vingt minutes. Elle fut exécutée le soir même, 10. Elle est morte comme un héros, avec une telle patience et une telle tranquilité que sa mort a produit même parmi les monstres qui l'ont égorgée, un tel étonnement que, le soir même 10, il fut porté chez tous les imprimeurs et journalistes un ordre du Comité de Salut Public, qui défendoit de parler d'aucun des détails de cet événement."' (P. 570.)

'1794, Mai 26-31, Paris.—"Le 24 à la pointe du jour, le Comité de Salut Public se rassembla, au sujet de l'assassinat qui avoit été tenté sur Collot d'Herbois, l'ami intime de Robespierre. Aussitôt qu'il en fut question, St.-Just n'hésita pas de déclarer que, depuis plus d'un mois, on savoit que le nommé L'Amival, coupable de cet assassinat, étoit un homme furieux et fou, que l'on réservoit comme une machine propre à mettre en action dans le moment; que cet homme avoit été au point de l'assassiner lui-même à l'instigation de ses ennemis; qu'il déclaroit donc, très positivement, qu'il ne doutoit pas que L'Amival n'eût voulu assassiner Collot d'Herbois, mais qu'il étoit très certain que Collot d'Herbois étoit prévenu du moment de cet assassinat, et que l'on avoit pris toutes les précautions nécessaires pour qu'il n'eût aucun effet; qu'il attendoit maintenant ce que l'on vouloit faire de cette tragédie. Que si c'étoit, comme il avoit lieu de le croire, pour loger Robespierre et ses amis au Palais-National avec une garde, il se déclaroit à l'instant à la tête de ceux qui s'opposeroient à la tyrannie. Que si on vouloit employer cette tragédie à augmenter le pouvoir des Comités, il ne s'y opposeroit pas; et que si on vouloit l'employer à pousser la guerre aux dernières extrémités, il seconderoit ce parti de tous ses moyens, et offroit, si cela étoit adopté, de partir le 26 pour se rendre aux armées

du Nord. Après de très courts débats, tout ce que demandoit St.-Just fut adopté." ' (P. 579.)

This is but one picture of a sitting of this Committee where personal hatreds and malignant suspicions were constantly exhibited. Whilst the troops of France and Germany were fighting bravely, the patriots of Paris, exhibiting energy in their actual management of affairs, were showing also some of the worst and most vindictive passions in their councils and towards their fellow-countrymen. The Courts of Germany, on the other hand, were contemptible in their incapacity and their greed; the Prussian King was amenable only to the influence of the most recently selected mistress and of the most specious of his courtiers. Between them we see an upright and capable body of English statesmen and an honest, if a narrow-minded, monarch. It was the misfortune and not the fault of this country that she became involved in the struggle between these opposing forces, with both of which her rulers and her people were, as is evident by this correspondence, wholly out of sympathy.

ART. VII.—1. *A History of Fife and Kinross.* By ÆNEAS J. E. MACKAY, Sheriff of these Counties. Edinburgh: 1896.

2. *Fife, Pictorial and Historical.* By A. S. MILLAR, F.S.A., Scot. Cupar: 1895.

3. *Place Names of Fife and Kinross.* By W. J. N. LIDDALL. Edinburgh: 1896.

4. *The Fringes of Fife.* By JOHN GEDDIE. Edinburgh: 1894.

FIFE, or, as its children prefer to call it, 'the Kingdom of 'Fife,' 'contains the concentrated essence of Scottish 'history and character.' This remark is pleasantly illustrated by the sheriff of the county, Mr. Æneas Mackay, in one of a series of short Scottish county histories. Antiquarianism delights, as Southey says, to exercise 'the Peri steed of 'her eloquence on the plain of Prolixity.' Mr. Mackay's limits do not permit him to be prolix, as county historians use; he can only pick out the choicest plums from records long and romantic. In a few points, as is natural where such vast collections of facts have to be dealt with, Mr. Mackay's statements admit of correction. Indeed, the history of even a single house or family in Fifeshire—say, of the Halketts of Pitfirran alone—supplies materials enough for as large a book as these brief chronicles of a shire. Mr. Millar's two quarto volumes, copiously illustrated, of 'Fife, Pictorial and Historical,' treating of 'the kingdom' by her parochial provinces, add many details for which Mr. Mackay could not find room. Mr. Geddie, again, gives some picturesque touches in 'The Fringes of Fife;' Mr. Liddall supplies local etymologies in his 'Place Names,' and any one who knows the county can pick up neglected legends, anecdotes, and customs, of which we shall offer examples. On prehistoric Fife Mr. Mackay says little. 'Prior to 'Christianity only its geography is known.' The Romans are not recorded to have conquered the space between Forth and Tay; supposed Roman remains are 'doubtful.' 'The 'very few Roman coins which have been found in Fife prove '[that] there can have been no permanent occupation of any 'part of the county. These may well have been collections 'made after the Romans left, or, like similar finds in Ireland, 'are independent of any conquest.' On this theory the Roman coins reached Fife in the course of early commerce.

Dr. Laing, in Mr. Millar's book, is more expansive on a theme so dear to Monkbarns. We hear of dug-out canoes, 'earth houses,' and 'crannogs,' or lake dwellings, in Fife. Traces of *duns*, or prehistoric hill-forts, are not uncommon. Stone weapons and swords and jewelry of bronze reward the excavator. Dr. Laing believes in a battle with the Romans at Lochore, in Agricola's campaign. In 1851 seven hundred Roman coins were found not far from Lochore (the estate of the wife of the second Sir Walter Scott). Many were coins of Severus, 'in very perfect condition.' Dr. Laing also believes in an early Frisian invasion, as described by Mr. W. F. Skene, in the end of the fourth century.* The name 'Fib' is found in the speech of South Jutland, where 'it is pronounced 'exactly as the modern name of Fife.' There are many traces in place-names of a Scandinavian settlement. The word 'law' (*ulaew*, a piled-up tumulus) is common. In *Beowulf* is a description of a 'law' which exactly corresponds with two passages in the 'Odyssey.'

'A mound over the sea,
It was high and broad,
By sailors over the waves
To be seen afar.'

So the shade of Elpenor in Hades says—

σῆμά τέ μοι χεῦαι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης
ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

A similar description of 'Achilles's Law' occurs in 'Odyssey,' xxiv. Cinerary urns, gold armlets, weapons of bronze, and beads of jet are discovered in these heroic tombs, and in 1819 an inquiring pedlar dug many hundreds of ounces of silver out of Norrie's Law. The jewels were melted down. Fife is a practical kingdom, unfavourable to the preservation of relics. In the ancient site of St. Andrews Lord Bute's excavations discovered no object of intrinsic value—hardly a bronze coin. A copper ring, inscribed, in bad Latin, 'Mater 'Dei Me Mando,' was found last year at St. Andrews; even such poor *trouvailles* are rare. 'Verily the fine gold hath 'perished.'

On Dr. Laing's theory the early population of Fife was Celtic (as the place-names prove), with a Frisian admixture.

* Mr. Mackay says, 'There may have been a still earlier Teutonic migration to the eastern coast of Scotland'—than that after the Norman Conquest—'as to which history is silent.' But see Mr. Skene in 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,' vol. iv. p. 169.

Later came Northmen, and, after the Conquest, Normans and 'Anglo-Saxons.' In his novel 'Catriona' Mr. R. L. Stevenson avers that Gaelic was still spoken in Fife as late as 'the Forty-Five.' The vast prevalence of Lowland family names makes this extremely improbable. But the Celtic place-names are as prevalent. Strathtyrum, near the links of St. Andrews, once the property of Archbishop Sharp, is *Strathtioram*, 'the dry valley.' Pitcullo is 'the portion of '(*Mac*) *Culloch*.' Pitfirran (*pette fuvran*) is 'the portion of 'the fountain.' Long ago the original Celts lost their *pits*, or 'portions.' We find a Celtic place-name, like Leuchars (*luachair*, a rush), but as early as *circ.* 1200 the Norman church at Leuchars, of which a part remains, was built by the De Quincys, the Norman landlords. The great Fifeshire names are English or foreign. The Leslies, it seems, were originally Flemings. Melville is remote from the Gaelic; Balfour is derived from a place; Wemyss (*wames*) is a place-name from the caves on the coast. Lindsay is not Celtic, and so with the rest.

No facts can be more plain. A Celtic people has left only its ancient names, like the last faint echoes of Arthur's horn. Singular customs, Celtic or not Celtic, survive. The superstitions of the fisher folk are well known. Tradition avers that when the clergyman at Leuchars read the chapter on the Gadarene swine, all the male members of the congregation rushed to 'touch iron.' Swine must not be named, and iron, since Homer's day, is sovran against unholy influences. At a date which we do not pretend to determine a ship was wrecked in St. Andrew's Bay. The fisher folk put the surviving sailors out of their pain and divided their property. Soon after the whole fleet of fishing boats started from the little pier on a beautiful day, and never returned! A storm arose and destroyed them. For very many years no boat went out on that day, and the present fishing folk are said to be the descendants of a colony from the north. They have recently shown the greatest courage in rescuing a ship's crew, though they had to use an unseaworthy lifeboat from Boarhills, so the curse must have exhausted itself. One of their customs is unexplained. The men, on marriage, formally adopt their wives' surnames. Thus William Smith marries Alice Chisholm. He then becomes William Smith Chisholm. This preference for the female line prevailed among the ancient Picts, and any one may argue that the East Coast fishers keep up a Pictish institution. The area in which this custom prevails ought to be ascertained.

Something like written and recorded history begins with the legends of the saints who, to some extent, converted Fife. Saint Serf, who has left his name on an islet in Loch Leven, is probably a real, but is certainly a very vague personage. He has also a cave at Dysart, and had a church at Culross. East Fife was converted by Cainnech (St. Kenneth) and St. Rule (Riagail, Regulus), whose tall tower dominates St. Andrews. Legend makes him a native of Patras, not an Irishman, as he really was, and asserts that he brought certain bones of St. Andrew. In the history of Fife no event is more important than the bringing of the forearm and finger bones of St. Andrew to Kilrymont. The history of Fife is, practically, the history of St. Andrews, the Canterbury and Oxford of Scotland, the ecclesiastical and educational capital. But for these blessed bones St. Andrews had not been, or had only been a bare, poor fishing village. According to Mr. Skene (Mr. Mackay is vague) the bones were brought from Hexham by Acca, an expelled bishop, some time between 734 and 761. Thereafter the bleak, windy cliff above the North Sea became the centre of religion, education, and (in a serious age) of golf. None of these things would have occurred if the church at Kilrymont had not possessed bones of an Apostle. Local Celtic saints had no chance against the brother of St. Peter. The bones *may* have been genuine. Mr. Millar makes an extract from the 'Accompts of Expences' of Edward I. in Scotland during the years 1303–1304. Among these are recorded offerings by the English king and queen of golden ornaments 'to 'the arm of St. Andrew, in the town of St. Andrews, in 'the Priory Church, on March 13 and March 19.' Probably the ornaments were stolen when Knox preached at St. Andrews on June 11, 1559. The head of a statue of our Lord, and the head, still gilt, of a saint—perhaps St. Andrew—were then, or afterwards, thrown into the *latrines* of the Priory, whence they were dug up during Lord Bute's excavations. Bones would decay, and the bracelets of Edward and his queen would be seized and melted down with St. Margaret's golden crucifix, and the fragments of the true Cross. Yet the relics had done their work. But for them St. Margaret and Queen Mary, Bruce and Edward I., Montrose and Knox, Claverhouse and Andrew Melville, Dr. Johnson and Tom Morris, might never have left famous names at St. Andrews. The ecclesiastical and educational capital of Scotland would have been elsewhere; not here would Car-

dinal Beatoun, Archbishop Sharp, and Chastelard have died. The relics in the first place, and then the ecclesiastical foundations connected with them, led half the world on pilgrimage through Fife to an out of the way rock above a treacherous coast.

The early, almost unwritten history of Fife shows us the Celts in the process of losing their lands. Their ecclesiastical positions they also lost. When, or before, Malcolm Canmore married St. Margaret he learned English, and Gaelic went out of fashion. The Court was much at Dunfermline: here the council met which reformed the Celtic Church; here, in the ballad, the king 'drinks the blood red 'wine' in the ruined palace, sketched by Mr. Walter Paton for Mr. Millar's book. As a result of reforms the bishops of St. Andrews no longer bear Celtic names; English names appear; the Culdees fall in common esteem, and mumble a maimed Mass in their deserted chapel. Mr. Mackay tells the story of St. Margaret's one miracle: her Gospels fell into a river, and were not spoiled by the water. Though Mr. Mackay seems uncertain, we think that there can be no doubt as to the fact that the Bodleian now possesses the very book of the miracle, bought for five or six pounds at the sale of an English parish library. The preservation of the Gospels was not, however, the only miracle connected with St. Margaret. Posthumous wonders were wrought. It speaks but poorly for Catholic Scotland that she has no more recent saint than the good queen. The 'process' of Mary Stuart tarries long, and though the grave of James VII. was credited with miracles, though a miracle is set down to Maria Clementina (mother of Prince Charlie),* and though the claims of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, were mentioned after his decease, none of these royal people has even been promoted to the title of 'Venerable.'

Thus Fife early in its history became subjected to Norman and feudal influences. The death of Alexander III., foretold by Michael Scott, of Balwearie, and announced by Thomas the Rhymer, of Ercildoune, supplies the next picturesque page in the history of the kingdom. Then came the troubles preluding the War of Independence. 'Fife played 'a small part,' says Mr. Mackay, but William Lamberton, the Bishop of St. Andrews, played, as a friend and ally of

* The account of this miracle is in the recently acquired Stuart Papers in the British Museum.

Bruce, a part far from inconsiderable. Edward I., as we saw, bestowed jewels on the church; he also stripped the lead from the roof; to be sure he paid for it! Lamberton sheltered the Black Douglas, and gave him his own horse, whereon to flee and join Bruce. He crowned the King; he was seized by Edward and imprisoned in England. He completed and dedicated the cathedral, in 1318. Though as reckless as a Jacobite in taking and breaking political oaths, Lamberton was certainly of great service to the cause of Scotch independence.

Mr. Mackay finds little to his purpose in the following century, and then the scene shifts from St. Andrews and Dunfermline to Falkland. The young Duke of Rothesay, King Robert's eldest son, was seized by his uncle, Albany, under a kind of *lettre de cachet*. He was taken at Strathtyrum, conveyed to St. Andrews, thence carried to Falkland (a seat of Albany's), and he never left Falkland alive. Albany and Douglas were formally acquitted of the charge of causing the death of the Prince; 'The Fair Maid of 'Perth' has fixed the crime on them, however, and probably they can never be 'whitewashed.' 'And yet,' says Mr. Millar, 'the case against Albany is a very weak one, when 'calmly examined.' Wyntoun, a contemporary chronicler, does not hint at any treason, and Albany was dead, and not to be feared, when Wyntoun wrote his 'Cronykil.' Bower leaves the question open. The author of the 'Liber Plus-'cardensis,' the continuator of the Chronicle, the constant companion and friend of Jeanne d'Arc, charges heavily against Albany and Douglas. Mr. Millar holds, with Mr. W. F. Skene, that the Monk of Pluscarden was Maurice Buchanan, 'a great-grandson of Albany.' This is very doubtful, and the mere fact that the chronicler denounces his alleged great-grandfather confirms the distrust of Mr. Felix Skene as to the identity of the author. It is Boece, that 'pillar of falsehood,' who gives the romantic details employed by Scott in 'The Fair Maid of Perth.' They read like a prose rendering of a popular ballad on the Prince's death, and are about as trustworthy as such a ballad would be. However Albany's character 'is totally lost,' and Douglas 'has 'not sufficient for two.' The pitiful story will always be believed. The scene of the Prince's death, in any case, was an older keep than the palace of Falkland, dear to the Jameses. Mr. Millar gives reasons for supposing that James II. probably began the palace. In 1496 it was the residence of the mysterious Perkin Warbeck. It was

rebuilt and adorned by James V.; previously the roof had been thatched: indeed, it was thatched till 1584, when James VI. called for 'sklaitis'—slates. Charles I. inhabited the palace, and Rob Roy, in 1715, took up his abode there, a great change from his 'but and ben' in the cottage near Inverary. Lord Bute has 'restored,' or 'disclosed,' 'its 'former greatness.'

In the days of St. Margaret Fife was the centre of the process of the Anglicising of Scotland, and the bringing of her Church into harmony with that of Europe. But for the success of Bruce at Bannockburn Scotland would have shared the advance, or decadence, of England; but Bannockburn made the kingdoms hostile and threw Scotland into the arms of France. The higher education was, therefore, endangered. Scottish youths could not attend Oxford or Cambridge; in France they fought more than they studied, acquiring fame and fortune, like 'Hugh Come-with-'the-penny,' but not erudition. Fife again sprang to the front, and the first Scottish University was founded at St. Andrews. For long there had been schools there: Bishop Wardlaw founded a *Studium Generale* in 1411. Bulls from Benedict XIII., of doubtful memory, were procured in 1413. There were, as yet, no buildings; the University was a soul without a body. In 1418 Robert of Montrose granted a tenement for a College of Theology and the Arts, on the south side of South Street. In 1430 Wardlaw granted the adjoining tenement as a *Pædagogium*. Montrose's College was that of St. John the Evangelist; the present College of St. Mary's, the school of young divines, occupies these old sites. The actual building seems mainly Jacobean, and in the quadrangle is 'Queen Mary's Thorn,' celebrated by the late Mr. R. F. Murray, whom Mr. Mackay calls 'Kenneth.' In 1450–1451 Bishop Kennedy founded St. Salvator's College, in North Street, and endowed it with rich vestments and jewels. The college has an old inventory of this wealth, made when, in times of peril, the jewels were concealed. There are golden crosses, one containing a piece of the Holy Rood, tall silver images of Our Lord, with precious stones, nine silver chalices, and several silver maces. Of all these only some admirably wrought maces remain. The professors, or the Reformers, looted the rest, unless the wealth remains concealed, which is unlikely. Once, indeed, of late, the college found a hoard—of old silver spoons! The ancient buildings, where the students dwelt, were allowed to go to ruin, and were destroyed some fifty years ago. The

beautiful carved oaken roof of the hall was broken to pieces, and even the fragments were removed from St. Andrews. A gaunt set of lecture rooms now occupies the space. The chapel tower even has been modified, and only the wonderful tomb of Kennedy, in shattered grace, with the still handsome exterior of the chapel on the outer side, remains to tell of a civilised age. In the quadrangle a kind of lean-to, for a gymnasium, has been added to the chapel wall! The arch which once stood outside the chapel door lies in fragments on the grass of the inner quadrangle. Thus has Kennedy's college treated his magnificent bequest.

Of St. Leonard's College, founded in 1512 by Archbishop Stuart, but mainly the work of Prior Hepburn, not much is left. The chapel is roofless; the tower was destroyed by Sir David Brewster and Sir Hugh Playfair, famous Philistines and Vandals. The old college rooms are now concealed in two houses, of which one is part of a girls' school. The view of St. Leonard's from the garden is, perhaps, the least spoiled aspect of old St. Andrews. George Buchanan, however, would not know the house where he lived, nor Knox the gardens in which he spoke with the students and won the affection of James Melville. Next door to St. Leonard's is the old town house where Queen Mary 'lived as a bourgeois 'dame,' shot matches at the butts, and received the English ambassador. Hither too came Charles II. The house is admirably preserved, as St. Leonard's and St. Salvator's might have been. A kind of sanatorium occupies the site of the *Novum Hospitium*, where dwelt Mary of Guise, where James VI. saw a kind of drama acted, where Archbishop Sharp's wraith was beheld by his steward and running footman. On the site of the sub-prior's house, across the way, Lord Bute has made diggings, and on the grey old basements has erected a puzzling structure in red sandstone. Such is the present aspect of the ecclesiastical capital of Fifeshire.

History, on the death of James V., shifted from the colleges to the Bishop's Castle of St. Andrews. Every one knows how George Wishart was burned there. Mrs. Oliphant alleges that Wishart was art and part in a conspiracy to murder Cardinal Beatoun. Mr. Mackay writes, 'It seems now established that it was another Wishart.' There was another Wishart, an educated man, who is charged, in 1552, with sacking a monastery and drowning an old lady in the Tay.* With all deference to Mrs.

* See Mr. Maxwell's Old Dundee, p. 88.

Oliphant and Mr. Mackay we cannot regard the question about George Wishart's guilt or innocence as settled in either way. Mr. Froude thinks that the martyr was not 'so 'different from his Protestant countrymen' as to have had any scruples about abetting the murder of the Cardinal. Murdered he was, in his castle (May 28, 1546), by 'James 'Melvin, a man of nature most gentill,' says Knox, and by a crowd of other gentlemen.

Mr. Mackay is troubled and dubious about all these performances. The gentle and learned Erskine of Dun slew a priest in a church, nobody ever knew why. 'Must we 'acknowledge,' asks Mr. Mackay, after stating the alternative opinion, 'that the sterner verdict of our forefathers 'was nearer the truth—that in this way, and in no other, 'was reformation possible?' 'No other way' suggested itself to our forefathers except to Quentin Kennedy and Ninian Winzett, who were Catholics and got no hearing. The large share of Fife in the Reformation is almost too familiar to linger over. We have all heard how the murderers of the Cardinal held the Castle of St. Andrews, robbed and ravished, elected Knox as their preacher, were vainly warned by him of the consequences of their misdeeds, and were taken prisoners by the Prior of Capua. We have Knox's word for it that, in the galleys off the Fife coast, he prophesied to James Balfour of his coming triumph in St. Andrews. We have Balfour's word for it that he never was in the galleys at all! But it is generally admitted that what Balfour said is not evidence.

It was in June 1559 that Knox fulfilled his own prophecy and preached in St. Andrews. He says that 'all monu-'ments of idolatry were removed with expedition,' and Lord Bute has shown us the place to which the image of the Redeemer was 'removed.' The very tombs were rifled. Standing in the ruins of the cathedral, Mr. Millar is sensible of 'a feeling of indignant regret,' for in Germany and in England the cathedrals were not destroyed. Though nothing is definitely known, the cathedral cannot have been 'dung down' in a day. The 'idols' were broken—Knox says 'burned.' The jewels and vestments (except such as reached the Earl of Huntly) were stolen. The lead was stripped from the roof. Wind and weather wrecked an edifice never very secure in its best days. The central tower probably fell to the north side (as Mr. Millar says) and brought down the north wall. An ill-drawn plan of 1642 shows that little was then left. The cathedral was no

longer needed. The parish churches sufficed, and, of course, there were no more pilgrims. Nobody had an interest in paying for 'the upkeep' of the edifice. The townsfolk used the ruins as a quarry; fragments of the hewn stones are found in the walls of houses. The monasteries were gutted and destroyed. Such was the end of the cathedral and the religious houses. The castle, after the destruction by the French, was rebuilt by Archbishop Hamilton. The castle too has been used as a quarry.

When Queen Mary came to St. Andrews she dwelt in a burgess's house, but the *Novum Hospitium*, at least, must have been habitable. We do not hear that, like Dr. Johnson, she was grieved by the spectacle of ruin. She was in the town when her too enterprising admirer, Chastelard, was executed; the scene of his death is unknown. At Wemyss she met and was wooed by Darnley. At Loch Leven she had a colloquy with Knox, and vainly angled for his good graces. Loch Leven, again, was the scene of her captivity in the stern castle on the narrow isle where the angler now lands and eats his frugal luncheon. Thenceforth Fife knew her no more. But Knox returned to St. Andrews, a kind of fugitive from Edinburgh, from July 1571 to August 1572. He lodged 'in the new buildings 'near the Abbey'—the palace, we presume, of Mary of Guise, the *Novum Hospitium*. He preached, he prophesied, he denounced *all* Hamiltons as 'murderers:' he quarrelled with St. Salvator's; he loved St. Leonard's, and won the heart of one student, James Melville, who has left to us the most amiable portrait of the Reformer. He predicted the hanging of his old friend Kirkaldy of Grange, and, on Knox's death, the Ministers saw that the prediction was fulfilled to the letter. In St. Andrews Knox looked on at a drama in which the doom of Grange was 'proleptically' represented. 'The castle was besieged and taken, and the 'captain [Grange], with one or two with him, hanged in 'effigy.' Melville's memoirs show us all the life of academic Fife at this time—the Latin studies, the faint survival of music among old retainers of the abbey; the golf, the archery; the dearth of Greek, till the famous Andrew Melville came home. Fife was now enlivened by visits from James VI., and by his quarrels with Andrew Melville, and Melville's quarrels with the town, the professors, and the country gentlemen. Swords were out, professors were stricken, arrows flew, St. Mary's College stood a siege, a laird skulked on the links for a shot at the Archbishop.

A battered ship of war, the Armada, came to Anstruther, with starving crews, and the men were hospitably entertained by James Melville. He praises the Spanish courtesy, nor were his guests ungrateful.

Treachery and poverty, says Lord Setoun, in an unpublished letter to the Pope, followed the Reformation. He might have fairly reflected that they were not unknown before that revolution. It was in Fife, at Donibristle, that the bonny Earl Murray was set on and slain by Huntly, winning a deathless name in the beautiful ballad, the 'common rhymes or songs' spoken of by James Melville. From Falkland James VI. rode to win the mysterious treasure of Gowrie House, and found only drawn dirks, and gained nothing but a stain (probably undeserved) on his honour. People lived as if in a novel of Dumas, a romance of cloak and sword.

One great effort Fife made to invade, seize, and settle the Lewes (1598–1609). The isle was treated with no more ceremony than if it had been New Guinea. But the Macleods, by force or fraud, had much the better of the contest. James Learmont, of Balcomie, in particular, was roughly handled and died. Mr. Mackay says 'Bannatyne deemed 'his death a fulfilment of a prediction of Knox.' Now, in fact, Andrew Melville suspected Learmont of writing a French and Italian pasquinade on himself, and addressing him from the pulpit as 'thou Frenchified, Italianised, jolly 'gentleman,' prophesied that Learmont would die childless, 'and God shall batoon thee in His righteous judgements.' This prediction (witches were burned for less) Mr. Mackay attributes, we presume, to Knox. We know not the source of Mr. Mackay's strange tradition of the devil appearing at the cradle of Charles I., when a baby in Falkland. 'Fiend! 'would he had taken the girnin' brat clean awa',' said gentle King Jamie when he heard of it. 'Gin he ere be king 'there'll be nae guid o' his reign; the Deil has cast his 'cloak over him already.' Probably the story was invented when Charles became detested in Puritan Fife. Charles, as king, was little in his native kingdom. Charles II. was rudely treated there, it is said, by Mr. Blair, before he 'fled 'to England,' as Mr. Mackay oddly describes his spirited invasion of England before Worcester Fight. Did Prince Charles 'flee into England' in 1745? Covenanting Fife might fill a book to itself. The tradition of Knox and of Andrew Melville flourished in Fife, and was kept up by Henderson, precious Samuel Rutherford, Blair, Guthrie, and

all the celebrated men who signed the copy of the Covenant now in the University Library of St. Andrews.

In fighting Fife did not distinguish herself. Her sheriff particularly omits mention of the bold burghers who fled from Montrose's claymores, and died, 'burst, without stroke of 'sword.' But in 'faithful contendings' with sword and tongue Fife excelled. The noble prisoners taken under promise of quarter at Philiphaugh were condemned in the University Library, and executed at St. Andrews. Cromwell pacified Fife, save for the furious quarrels of the Right and Left of the Covenanting party. In Fife, at St. Andrews, 'Sharp of that ilk' was educated, he lived as parish minister at Crail, held his palace at St. Andrews, as archbishop, and was hacked to pieces on Magus Moor. 'He belongs,' says Mr. Mackay, 'to the sad list of Churchmen whose chief aim 'has been personal advancement, not the good of the Church 'or people. Those' (which, or what?) 'of his assassins find 'a place in the no less painful catalogue of religious fanatics 'who have blasphemed their Maker by using His name to 'cover the crime of their own ungoverned passions.' Royalists looked on Sharp, Covenanters looked on Hackston of Rathillet as martyrs. Another martyr, Richard Cameron—a fighting martyr—was a Fife man, of Falkland. His adversary, Claverhouse, like Montrose and Argyll, was educated at St. Andrews. The college lists and the names on the archery medals in the University are the golden book of the age of Cavalier and Covenanter. After the Revolution Fife was Whig. A student of St. Leonard's robbed the post in 1715, and the young men rang the college bells for King James. But in 1745 we find only the Earl of Kelly and Helenas Hackston, of Rathillet, out with the Prince, among men of station. After Culloden the Chevalier Johnstone found St. Andrews 'full of the accursed race of 'Calvinists. . . . No town ever so much deserved the fate of 'Sodom and Gomorrah.' Ecclesiastically Fife was rich in the seed of secession from the Kirk. Ebenezer Erskine was a minister near Loch Leven. Whitfield was blamed at Dunfermline by the Seceders for preaching in the parish kirk. *They* alone 'were God's people,' like the Cameronians. Split followed on split, schism on schism, till we reach the Auld Lichts and the New Lichts, and modern politics, in which Fife is very advanced.

Thus 'the kingdom,' much isolated, and not the scene of the great military events of the past, has otherwise been an epitome of the kingdom of Scotland. 'A beggar's mantle

'with a fringe of gold' King Jamie called Fife, for the interior lacks beauty, save in the rare river valleys, while the coast is a long run of ancient towns, still full of touching ruins of ecclesiastical art. From Culross round to St. Andrews the 'Fringes of Fife' are picturesque and rich in archæological interest. Mr. Geddie offers in 'The Fringes 'of Fife' a lively and poetic itinerary, well worth following. Mr. Stevenson has also written, on this theme, one of his most alluring essays. As Cicero said of Athens, 'every 'stone you tread on has its history.' The people are a bluff, independent, and humorous race; caddies, fishermen, ploughmen, ministers, have contributed to Mr. Mackay's store of Fife proverbs: by the way, there is a difference between an aphorism, or *maxime*, and a proverb, though Mr. Mackay seems not to take the distinction (p. 261). Mr. George Meredith is full of aphorisms, not of 'proverbs,' as Mr. Mackay remarks of him. Proverbs, as Mr. Mackay sees, are of the folk, popular and antique. Aphorisms are of the literary individual. Into the poetry of Fife poets, which is rich and various, space does not permit us to follow Mr. Mackay. But the poems are usually literary and individual; less learned parts of Scotland—the Lowland and Highland Borders—have furnished most of our old ballads. To be sure Lady Wardlaw, a Fifeshire dame, wrote 'Hardyknute,' in itself a demonstration that she could *not* have written 'Sir Patrick Spens.' For generals and painters Fife brags Scotland, and she gave birth to Braid, the founder of hypnotism. In brief, we have not room even for a summary roll call of the Worthies of Fife, among whom her witches also must go unrecorded. All these things are written in the book of her sheriff, and, with more of detail, in Mr. Millar's larger volumes. For recent times we have the abundant 'Cronykils' of A. K. H. B. Unluckily most persons of leisure, when in Fife, neglect her rich romance for the absorbing game of golf. The loss is their own.

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ART. VIII.—1. *The Reign of Law.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T. London: 1866.

2. *The Unity of Nature.* By the same author. London: 1884.

3. *The Philosophy of Belief; or, Law in Christian Theology.* By the same author. London: 1896.

THE publication this year of the Duke of Argyll's 'Philosophy of Belief; or, Law in Christian Theology,' completes the series of works projected by the author, with the view of including the main problems encountered by religious faith when accepting the grand advance of science during the last half-century. The publication of the latest volume affords a suitable occasion for a general survey of the three related works whose titles are placed at the head of this article.

'Law in Christian Theology,' the subsidiary title of the volume just published, gives the index to its contents. The three volumes present severally a distinct area of investigation; unitedly they include an inquiry of comprehensive range, well suited to meet the intellectual demands of our times.

The modern conception of cosmic history is well expressed in 'The Reign of Law.' The phrase supplies the key to all that is known of the conditions of existence, of the secret processes of Nature, and of the marvellously complex appliances by use of which familiar facts are capable of interpretation. When the results of scientific inquiry are combined, the conception which has become fixed in modern thought is that of orderly sequence depending on fixed conditions which co-operate towards securing a recognised end.

In so far as the common intelligence has gained a consistent representation of the universe as a whole, from the facts scientifically ascertained, 'The Unity of Nature,' always admitted, is recognised as it has never till now been possible for men to contemplate it. The human mind has, indeed, never been in doubt that our sphere of personal activity is within a defined and orderly system; it has invariably cherished the conception of the unity of the whole combination of things lying within compass of common observation. Thus it has happened that the great body of the people have readily accepted the discoveries of scientific research, and they have done so on an intellectual basis, closely related to their own daily experience. The newly received thoughts are only the expansion of earlier concep-

tions, and not in any degree at variance with their essential meaning. Hence it happens that the real difficulties of our day are felt most urgently only when men come to consider how their ultimate beliefs, perennial sources of joy and hope, can be retained and vitally co-ordinated in a mind quickened and enriched by recent discoveries. These difficulties have proved great and serious to men deeply imbued by the scientific spirit; in some respects most testing to those profoundly swayed by religious faith and sentiment. In the earlier stages of advance within the scientific epoch, specialists were less troubled with the difficulties involved in attempting to harmonise knowledge and faith. They were chiefly concerned with the new things opening before their eyes. For a quarter of a century it was enough to observe, record, and publish results. For the quarter of a century following, it became necessary to consider how knowledge and belief could be brought into harmony.

When the difficulties of the task were fully appreciated, it was inevitable that the exponents of discovery and the defenders of faith should find themselves in opposite camps, and that the age should prove in a considerable degree an unsettling one for the people. How naturally the two sections of trained intellects set themselves in array for battle is shown by the mere designation of the work falling to them severally, for the one company were banded as the *exponents* of the new, the other company were the *defenders* of the old. The subsequent history is familiar; the results are only beginning to appear.

There is but one sense in which the new displaces the old—that is as knowledge supplants ignorance, as science is clear gain to the intelligent life, a possession to be retained and valued. From the nature of the case, therefore, new truth does not displace old truth. New truth is acquisition, clear gain, an accession to thought and life. If only we see and remember that truth is a unity, each enlargement of its area will illustrate this in a grander way, dispelling the dread of advancing science. But in the escape from ignorance, in the acquisition of fresh knowledge, we undoubtedly displace old hypotheses; we learn in how many ways our suppositions as to the causes of things and the processes for their accomplishment have been at fault. There are, however, no class distinctions in such experience; the new is new for all, and the reconstruction of thought and fancy becomes a common demand. Thus it is inevitable in the history of intelligence, that after new

knowledge there must come new faith, for these two are inseparable. That we have had a period of Agnosticism has its explanation otherwise than in a surrender of faith. No one professes Agnosticism as an end; for there is ever faith in a further advance, belief in the intelligibility of things unexplained, and this is the denial of Agnosticism as a *terminus ad quem*. Agnosticism is no more a settled result than a halt for the night is the abandonment of a journey of exploration. When occupied with a deliberate survey of the gains of science, nothing is more obvious to us than this, that no new truth supplants the old truth. The old is still the primary, that which is most obvious to observation, or essential to intelligence from its first dealing with the problems of existence.

Of the fundamental conditions of our rational life the Duke of Argyll makes full account. He sees that if the unity of Nature is beyond question, the unity of knowledge and faith follows of course. Agnosticism, no more than scepticism, can be a settlement of reason's demands. Progress in knowledge may bring on us a large task in the form of readjustments; but one thing which cannot appear in its train is the decay of faith. To know more and believe less is impossible. The agnostic's place, and experience, and work are temporary. They pass into the rear as matters of history, and are soon shadowy enough in the distance.

A wonderful change has passed over the intellectual world in the course of the thirty years which separate the publication of 'The Reign of Law' from 'The Philosophy of Belief.' Discoveries which were being announced have expanded largely; acquisitions have become in considerable measure common property. The two camps and their conflicts, which at an early stage absorbed public interest and awakened anxiety in many minds, have ceased to interest. Soldiers of former days have gone back to their place as citizens; and the old weapons of attack and defence even begin to seem antiquated. While the world is busy as ever, some are furbishing up the old weapons to place them in the armoury, there to remain objects of curiosity. Faith has been unsettled and resettled; now, when all has come and gone, unbelief itself is sorely troubled by the demands of science. The teaching of Nature is no longer dubious; the only thing which perplexes man is himself, and our companionship with this perplexity will not soon be closed. The mysteries of intelligence offer a last retreat for Agnosticism; a perplexing hiding place, too, when we consider how

warranted was the saying of the prophet of Chelsea, emerged from the solitudes of Craigenputtock—'Thou art an un-'knowable individual.'

'The Reign of Law,' now in its nineteenth edition, is the Duke of Argyll's most popular work. So it will remain. It is the book by which the author will continue best known, and that by which he will in the future, as in the past, render the greatest service to his countrymen. We are not in this suggesting a disparaging judgement of the recently published work, which is a more elaborate treatise. Quite otherwise must this judgement be taken. It is because the early book presents the fundamental positions that it is so valued, because it stands naturally first as its author places it, and because it opens up to the popular view the region of investigation which awakened the interest belonging to the early stages of scientific advance. Its title expresses the scientific conception of modern times, and the work itself illustrates the idea with great aptness and fulness of reference. It is in this first volume we have the author's interesting discussion of the flight of birds, into the study of which he had been led by his father, who was assisted in his observations by Hart and Bryson. Our author shows to great advantage in this field of natural history, and repeatedly throughout these three volumes records a series of observations open only to one dwelling, as the Duke does, in a wooded country, by long stretches of inland sea, and who also has the additional advantage of frequent wanderings over large expanses of moorland. We have thus a valuable observation when he directs attention to the fact that it is amongst birds whose habitat is in the open plain that the law of assimilative colouring prevails.*

The main positions of the earliest of the three books, as these bear on the author's general conclusions, may be briefly indicated, so enabling the reader to carry through a study of the main line of discussion. The definitions of 'Law' constitute the preliminary to all that is subsequently contended for. Passing by 'an observed order of facts,' and 'a constant order' under the action of some force or forces, and identification of the force under a recognised name, such as 'gravitation,' we at length reach the sense 'in which 'Law is habitually used in Science'—a number of forces combined for attainment of special ends—'combination for 'the accomplishment of purpose.'† It is in such combina-

* Reign of Law, 5th ed. p. 181. † Ibid. p. 79.

tion of forces that we find a true explanation of the fixed order of things in Nature. By discoveries in this field, science 'only widens the foundation of our beliefs.'* Invisible forces are behind and above all visible phenomena. Every natural force is invisible; law is immutable only as the term is applied to an individual force; combinations vary endlessly. Thus force is not in itself an explanation of occurrence. When it is remarked that a combination of forces is involved, it is inevitable that our thoughts carry us behind force, and behind the variety of forces, or the varying forms of force, to see the ultimate explanation of events in the power that provides for the requisite combinations. We know nothing of the ultimate nature or the ultimate seat of force; but we do see that there is a complete analogy between our own adaptations of means to ends, and the processes which are traced in Nature. 'Whatever difficulty there may be in conceiving of a Will 'not exercised by a visible Person, it is a difficulty which 'cannot be evaded by arresting our conceptions at the 'point at which they have arrived in forming the idea of 'laws or forces.'† Science is the expression of Intelligence within the visible world; it implies an intelligent source of movement in the world. Either we must say that there is no science, because there is no orderly combination of forces and of results, or, in saying that there is an orderly combination and a science of natural procedure, we say that intelligent potency appears in all natural phenomena, that material forces and spiritual power are ever united in Nature. If we speak of the unity of Nature, we imply the unity of the natural and the supernatural, in the sense of a uniform combination of a material and a spiritual agency. These are the logical terms on which we scientifically interpret the visible order in the universe, and they imply faith in the invisible. This is the point at which Agnosticism must make its stand, and science itself is primarily concerned here. Science can part from theology, but it cannot refuse to deal with the unity of Nature. The clearness and force of the Duke's reasoning on this head are manifest. As much, however, cannot be said for all the details in the argument, as, for example, for the questionable account of inferences 'instinctively reached' by the untrained mind. 'Instinct' does not fitly apply here, or, at least, applies only in part. Common thought is rational in its procedure, and

* Reign of Law, 5th ed. p. 114. † Ibid. p. 122.

is as much entitled to rational acknowledgement as scientific thought can be. But, Inference is higher than Instinct, though we may readily grant that the two are often seen in companionship.

The wide and interesting field of biology is entered, as our author proceeds to argue that 'contrivance' is a 'necessity 'arising out of the reign of Law.' That is to say, procedure determined by fixed combinations, points to combinations adapted to chosen ends, and it constantly illustrates the analogy between our own intelligent procedure and that whole range of occurrences which is uniform, because dependent on fixed law. On the testimony of science, the analogy between the invisible, intangible power in man, and the invisible power in Nature, is being constantly illustrated. The science which is the outcome of the use of the spiritual power in man cannot help bearing witness for the Spiritual in Nature. The only terms on which this admission can be escaped are surrender of a fixed combination of forces co-operating for an intelligible end, with the capitulation of science itself. The knowledge of an external world—that is to say, the knowledge of external force—'stands side 'by side with the knowledge of self.'* To make the world intelligible, there must be, on the one hand, an intelligence originating procedure, and, on the other, an intelligence interpreting the procedure. Such interpretation leads to the conclusion that there is a teleology in Nature. That science does not include this fact, argues nothing against it. 'The perception of purpose and intention is inseparable 'from the perception of adjustment and function, as these 'are exhibited in Nature.' † Beauty is an end secured by natural processes, by an 'organic chemistry,' yielding its results in the colouring of plants and animals. Here our author is in harmony with Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, when dealing with 'Naturalism and Æsthetic,' in his 'Founda-'tions of Belief.' It is matter of congratulation that two statesmen, so conspicuous, give evidence of devotion to abstract thought and of power in dealing with the deeper problems of the age, however much they differ in their forms of argumentation. When we add the names of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley, we have reason to be proud of the union of politics and literature—a feeling which will be

* Reign of Law, p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 174. No special science can include Teleology; Philosophy cannot be without it.

deepened if we consider how many more names there are honoured in literature among our Parliamentary men.

The argument of the Duke in 'The Reign of Law' is completed in dealing with Law in Creation, in Mind, and in Politics. Reference to the two first named will here suffice for illustration of the argument developed under the ruling conception of a scientific age, 'the reign of Law.' In the chapter on Creation are included general inductions which follow on acceptance of Darwin's theory of the evolution of life on the earth. Driven from the conception of the original creation of species in the varied forms in which life now appears, our whole view of creation is transformed and enlarged. There is orderly method in the historic origin of forms; and when the history has been traced out, it becomes clear that no single law or force accounts for their origin. So long as we consider only the general aspects of biological history, we may speak of the accumulated results as 'the evolution of life;' but Darwin has shown only how *existing* forms 'acquire preference over others.' * In accepting this conclusion, it must be borne in mind that Darwin felt constrained 'to acknowledge plainly our ignorance of 'the cause of each particular variation.' † The research he started carried us behind and beyond the evidence for historic variation. We are looking upon unity in plan and progress; but we are still groping after some clearer vision of the combination of forces in co-operation during the unmeasured ages. Scientific research, in making its vast addition to our knowledge of the processes of nature, has not given us insight into the origin of things. Our fundamental beliefs remain as they were, while we await further discovery as to the combination of forces at work, anticipating still later efforts helping us to conceive how these have co-operated in securing the ends attained. We are thus led back to the position Aristotle assumed in beginning his treatise on Ethics, 'Every 'movement aims at some end or good.' ‡ To Aristotle, it was plain that every art and system bore evidence of this; that action and purpose were ever in combination. From this position our author reasons, in maintaining that creation has had a history, and that on scientific data we are brought to recognise 'creation by Law.' Granting a combination of forces at work, and variation in results, there is but one possible reading of biological history—that material

* Reign of Law, p. 218. † Origin of Species, 1st ed. p. 131.
‡ Nicom. Ethics, i. 1.

forces are instruments of Will; that Intelligence is at the heart of things, and that so it has been from the beginning till now.

When our author reaches the question of 'Law in Mind,' he does not show the intimate knowledge of psychological distinctions he possesses of biological data. He moves freely, and with real insight, but he is ready to group diverse facts under a common name, at times involving his reasoning in obscurity. For example, his account of voluntary action in man is lacking in exactness. When he developes a doctrine of 'free-will,' he maintains that such freedom 'has been 'erroneously represented as the peculiar prerogative of 'man.'* Most men who have given their main strength to biological research find psychology a perplexing maze. When it is said that 'a man is not more free to go to the right hand 'or to the left than the eagle, or the wren, or the mole, or 'the bat,'† we cannot wonder that an assault was made on this representation of voluntary power in man. To our thinking, Dr. Ward had the best of the argument in maintaining that such an account of voluntary action is deterministic; and does not supply any view of freedom of will. Going to the right hand or to the left is a purely physical action, which may be executed by merely physical energy, so that the eagle and man may execute muscular movements by similar agency. The darting of the wren may be as quick as the winking of the eye with us; but the winking of the eye is not a voluntary act. So long as we consider only what is done by nerve energy, stored in the brain, the action of man and animal may be the same, and the agency for its accomplishment the same. If this were all, we should never speak of free-will, a power of which the eagle and the wren, the mole and the bat, supply no illustration. When a man turns to the left, because he knows that the road leads to York; or to the right, because he knows the road leads to Carlisle, and because he had decided before starting to do business there, or to sojourn for a time with a friend resident there, we need more than nerve power to explain what is done. Reflection and purpose are distinct forms of activity of which muscular effort supplies no illustration. Comparisons of animal and human activity are not thoroughgoing, until we note all that a man does in thinking, with all the conditions in accordance with which he shapes his

* Reign of Law, p. 304.

† Ibid. p. 304. See Croll's 'Philosophic Basis of Evolution,' p. 55.

purpose. After this has been completed, the muscular effort of man may be analogous with that of an animal quite low in the scale of species; but reflective purpose nevertheless stands out as distinctive. Our author's view of free-will is, therefore, inadequate and misleading. But it ought to be observed that further reflection has induced a change of position, for in 'The Philosophy of Belief,' now before us, the view of free-will is rectified, and presented with a vividness and fulness which Libertarians will accept without reserve.* This revised statement the main argument certainly needs, in order that we may accept the position that the forces of Nature are neither independent of nor separate from an Intelligent Creator's power; that in all realms of Nature we find the expression of Will, exercised, not by a visible, but by an Invisible Person. The phenomena of consciousness, as these include exercise of self-determination in the use of means for accomplishment of purpose, afford the data on which men commonly recognise the presence of a Divine agency everywhere in Nature. Only on these data is the position made good, that no theory of creation 'can have the slightest effect in removing that 'work from the relation in which it stands to the attributes 'of Will.'† This also is the ground on which, as the Duke says, 'we revolt from the doctrine of evolution as applied to 'man.' To quote his own words, 'we are conscious of an 'amount and of a kind of difference between ourselves and 'the lower animals, which is, in sober truth, immeasurable, 'in spite of the close affinities of bodily structure.'‡

Apart, however, from details in analysis of consciousness, our author is clear and effective in developement of the argument from 'Law in Mind.' While acknowledging all that is involved in the constant relations of mind and body, he traces the evidence of the dominance of mind in human action, and shows how inadequate as an explanation of mental procedure is the analogy suggested in physical relations between structure and function. The conclusions up to this point are summarised in the following passage:—

'First, that the more we know of Nature the more certain it appears that a multiplicity of *separate* forces does not exist, but that all her forces pass into each other, and are but modifications of some one force which is the source and centre of the rest; secondly, that all of them are governed in their mutual relations by principles of

* The Philosophy of Belief, pp. 224, 258, 263.
† The Reign of Law, p. 273. ‡ Ibid. p. 264.

arrangement which are purely mental; thirdly, that of the ultimate seat of force in any form we know nothing; and, fourthly, that the nearest conception we can ever have of force is derived from our own consciousness of vital power.' (The Reign of Law, p. 275.)

As to 'the reign of Law in the realm of mind,' our author's leading positions are: 'that a material force and a moral 'or intellectual force are essentially different in kind;' that, close as the relation is between body and mind, 'mind is 'not conscious of its own dependence on material organs;' therefore 'physiology can never be the basis of psychology,' for the brain is not conscious, nor does it generate consciousness, as vital tissue generates electricity. Thus: 'It almost 'seems as if there were a barrier in the very nature of our 'minds against the possibility of conceiving how any com-'bination of material forces can either result in mind, or 'can be necessary to the working of its powers, or can be 'concerned even in giving it an abode.'

Space does not permit us to follow the reasoning in detail; but readers have enough before them to form a conception of the argument as a whole—an argument sustained with great ability. The judgement of the reading public, which has carried this book into a nineteenth edition, is grounded on inherent merit and marked adaptation to the wants of those who seek to appreciate the general results of recent advances in science.

'The Unity of Nature' presents the second instalment of our author's argument in seeking 'to trace the connexion 'between the reign of Law and the ideas fundamental to all 'religions.' After the extended representation of the manner in which the foundations of the author's reasoning have been laid, our review of this second volume may be more rapid. The contribution to the general argument may appear from the following selected positions. Nature is one system—it is a cosmos; every form of perceived existence must be thought of as part of the whole. This conviction does not depend on science, for it belongs to all ages and to all stages of intellectual developement, but it is upheld and extended by advancing science. 'The idea of the unity of Nature 'must be as old as the idea of one God.'* By 'the unity 'of Nature' is meant 'that intricate dependence of all 'things on each other which makes them appear to be parts 'of one system.'† Illustration is drawn from the harmony of the solar system—from the correlation of the forces of

* The Unity of Nature, p. 2. † Ibid. p. 8.

Nature, magnetism, electricity, chemical affinity, &c.—and from protoplasm as 'the basis of all organic life.' With every fresh advance this argument gains in weight.

'Every step in the progress of science which tends to reduce all organisms to one and the same elementary *substances*, or to one and the same initial *structure*, only adds to the certainty with which we conclude that it is upon something else than composition, and upon something else than structure, that those vast differences depend which separate so widely between living things in rank, in function, and in power.' (The Unity of Nature, p. 43.)

The conception of God is the natural accompaniment of the admission of the unity of Nature. Our recognition of God must be matter of *thought*, not of feeling or sensibility in any phase; it implies a conception of Cause, whose efficiency is visible in the system of things. Those who discuss the problems of comparative religion are apt to deal with religion as if it were altogether matter of feeling or sentiment, the element of thought being in this way frequently kept out of sight. But the inadequacy of this view is obvious when we admit the relation of thought as to the unity of Nature with thought as to the being of God. This is confirmed by the relation of morality to religion, for 'morality becomes religion in proportion as all 'duty and all obligation is regarded as resting on the 'sanction of a Divine authority.'* 'If we understand by 'Nature the whole system of things, visible and invisible,' the agency we name 'Supernatural' is not outside the system. It is a part of Nature in the large sense. 'Natural 'selection,' to which such prominence has recently been given in accounting for variations in animal form, 'likens 'the operations of Nature to the operations of a mind exer- 'cising a power of choice,' and we have no other language in which to express observed results. The unity of Nature is thus illustrated by every advance in science, for 'it is 'part of the unity of Nature that the clear perception of 'any one truth leads almost always to the perception of 'some other, which follows from or is connected with the 'first.' Thus the unity of the Cause becomes increasingly clear. It is an intellectual necessity under these conditions, that the unity of Nature and the unity of God should be accepted together and held with equal tenacity.

By this summary of the two preceding volumes we are brought up to line with 'The Philosophy of Belief; or, Law

* The Unity of Nature, p. 460.

'in Christian Theology,' which completes the series of contributions by which the Duke of Argyll seeks to uphold Christian faith in harmony with the accepted teaching of science as to the reign of Law and the unity of Nature. The long stretch of nearly thirty years separates this third volume from 'The Reign of Law,' showing the devotion with which the Duke has kept to his task. We can say that the task is ably finished, while the author is to be congratulated on the fact that the advance of thirty years of scientific research goes to uphold his positions. Many problems remain unsolved; many discoveries await persistent research; but the scientific faith of the day places permanently beyond challenge 'the unity of Nature,' with which Theistic faith is in rational harmony.

The first chapter in the new volume is entitled 'Intuitive 'Theology.' When one considers how the word 'intuitive' is at present regarded, this may seem the opening shot in a controversial campaign, scattering soil in every direction, and occasioning no small surprise to observers. We are prepared to see a lively demonstration in consequence; but closer investigation will not keep alive first impressions. What is here said as to 'intuition' need not fret the most sensitive antagonist of Intuitionism. This is not a philosophic polemic in the interests of the school. It is an easy, direct, and comparatively popular account of the thought of our race in its common characteristics, named and described so as effectively to sustain the contention that in its fundamental characteristics such thought is independent of science, yet in harmony with science. From one side the contention may appear as the unfolding of a truism, being the assertion that thoughts of God came before philosophy, as the thought of the unity of Nature was antecedent to science. The testimony of history is too strong to admit of denial; philosophically, the contrary position is impossible. From another point it may be taken as an assault on science, giving to scientific terms a significance and direction not contemplated in accepted usage. But neither can such a representation be taken as correct. From the standpoint of the author, which we are bound to assume, his argument is a contribution to the natural history of religious thought, as warrantable as is a natural history of organic life. It is a vindication of the validity of natural theology, on the single basis that theology is natural to thought, and the whole history of the human race can be appealed to in proof. His opening chapter, entitled 'Intuitive Theology,' is

really on the significance of modern science, as related to the ultimate inquiry concerning the origin and subsistence of the Cosmos. It is essentially and obviously the work of an author who, as he tells his readers in the preface, has had no experience of academic discipline. 'Neither in theology 'nor in philosophy have I ever had any exact training.' Proofs of this are scattered plentifully through the volume. Nevertheless, on this very account the book will be the more attractive to multitudes of readers whose lot has involved similar absence of academic guidance. This volume is the work of a man of 'plain Bible reading,' who has been a religious thinker 'amidst quiet surroundings of external 'circumstance.' The autobiographic preface is full of interest, and will go a long way to commend the volume, and to suggest the point from which it is to be regarded, if its full significance is to be appreciated. The book is a thorough example of persistent thought, deliberately carried out in a quiet spirit, and with a reflective power which has found a living interest in every division of it. This introductory chapter is the key of the book—clear, concise, telling—a careful gathering of the fruit of previous investigations, preliminary to a scrutiny of Christian faith in the light of natural law. Its full heading is 'Intuitive Theology; its definitions 'and their results.' Our summary of 'The Reign of Law' fairly suggests what is here presented in condensed form. A brief extract will show what is 'the intuitive phase of 'thought' contemplated by our author:—

'As regards the mere existence in Nature of the essential qualities of mind, as distinguished from the qualities of matter and of physical forces, it is demonstrable that the ubiquitous presence of this higher agency is not a matter of inference alone, but is an object of direct and immediate recognition by the highest mental faculties—which are the highest senses—we possess.' (The Philosophy of Belief, p. 5.)

This passage, taken as an affirmation of 'intuitive theo-'logy,' would not stand rigid application of the academic use of psychological terms; but it is a direct statement, in popular language, of a fact which has far-reaching significance for the interpretation of the history of common thought. It has little of the transcendental in it; it has nothing of the cautious defining and fencing in which philosophic dissertation abounds; but, apart from all this, and granting that escape from philosophic usage may not in the long run prove a possible thing, the statement will commend itself to the general reader as true to history; and will gain the approval of thinkers of opposing schools. It will be

assailed only by such of the agnostics as have spirit and vigour enough to defend their position, and the party of suspended belief is not yet in a state of suspended animation. Agnostics even, in their most skilful defence, will not, however, escape the consciousness that science, when talking in full accents of the unity of Nature, does not give them the support that a struggling man seeks to have. In these days, when the department of 'comparative religion' is claiming for itself a place in academic philosophy, none will find it possible to deny that men in all stages of civilisation, from the lowest to the highest, have reached for themselves a conception of God, and have shaped their fancies, and forms of action and of feeling, in accordance with it. We have long enough dwelt on the crudities of thought, on the superstitions and on the immoralities of savage life. What is now to be done is to estimate at its proper worth the thought of God which lives in the heart of such life, and which bears witness to the natural tendencies of human intelligence.

The Duke of Argyll uses the word 'intuitive' in a free and very general sense. 'Instinct or intuition' made its appearance early in his writings,* to mark the absence of training, and of the results of education; at the same time occurred an allusion to 'intuitive powers of numerical com-'putation,'† meaning powers more than normal, which are natural to some; and reference to 'instinctive knowledge,'‡ a knowledge which could not be attributed to individual observation. So also in 'The Unity of Nature,' when affirming that 'the idea of the unity of Nature must be as old as the 'idea of one God,' he adds, 'This is one of the many cases 'in which intuitions of the mind have preceded inquiry.'§ A few examples from 'The Philosophy of Belief' will further show the significance of the author's reference to 'intuitive 'theology.' 'What all men, of many races and of immemorial generations, have, as a matter of fact, seen in 'Nature, they have unconsciously recorded in the structure 'of human speech, and our very first business in all philo-'sophy is to read that record faithfully.'‖ As to the risk of obscuring such knowledge, or of undervaluing its significance, it is said 'that many of the most fundamental truths 'which we do most surely know, are in perpetual danger 'of being obscured and lost, by wrong methods of trying

* The Reign of Law, p. 292. † Ibid. p. 293. ‡ Ibid.
§ Unity of Nature, p. 8. ‖ Philosophy of Belief, p. 55.

'to increase our knowledge through bad definitions.'* And again, when contemplating scientific discussions themselves, it is said 'that the immediate perception and recognition 'of mental work in Nature is often most remarkable in the 'language of those in whom it is more or less unconscious, 'or is, at least, wholly unconnected with any theological 'preconceptions.'†

On the basis thus disclosed it is the object of our author, in 'The Philosophy of Belief,' to trace 'Law in Christian 'Theology'—that is, to test the teaching of the Bible by reference to the laws of natural thought, in the light of recent advances in science.

'The Philosophy of Belief' is discussed in two divisions—the first, or introductory portion, occupying two hundred pages, deals first with the uniform testimony of the ordinary thought of man to theological belief, and subsequently with the extended and powerful vindication of common thought supplied by scientific inquiry. The later and more distinctive part of the book, occupying the greater portion of the volume, is an examination of the underlying principles, intellectual, ethical, and religious, which are characteristic of Bible teaching, the Old Testament and the New Testament being treated as distinct, yet correlated. Of the results of the first part of the work, the following passage may be taken as index:—

'The great truth which has been reached by the preceding analysis is this, that the universal presence and power of mind in Nature, which has been well called in one word its purposiveness, is not a mere inference or the result of any conscious reasoning, but is a fact apprehended by direct, immediate, and self-evident perception; so much so that the perpetual acknowledgement and expression of it cannot be escaped in describing natural phenomena, even by those who are most desirous of avoiding or suppressing it.' (P. 181.)

In passing from the first portion of the work, our author remarks on the 'conscious limitations,' which inevitably restrict the action of common thought. 'Design and '"the argument from design" are two very different things. 'Such arguments may be good or they may be bad, in 'various degrees. But they all lie in the region of argu-'ments and inferences, and not in the region of pure and 'simple fact.' In view of this limitation, the author proceeds to consider Bible-teaching as transcending the boundaries equally of common thought as to Nature, and of

* Philosophy of Belief, p. 62. † Ibid. p. 113.

scientific discovery as to the processes producing the order of things visible.

'The Theology of the Hebrews' is contemplated as bearing on the character of God, and on the nature of man. In the Old Testament Scriptures there are 'no bare 'and bald conceptions of a Being having no known or 'knowable relations with the world or with man' (p. 204). God 'is, indeed, the Author of Nature.' But Nature was 'never thought of as constituting Him. He is the Father of 'our spirits, but he was never identified with their weak-'nesses or corruptions.'

'Without attempting to penetrate into a region which is obviously inaccessible to our powers—namely, the ultimate relation between the Divine Mind and those rules or laws according to which it works—the theology of the Jews did reach and teach this grand conception, that those laws are not only ultimate and immutable, but constitute the very life of Nature, the source of its authority, the one sole cause of all its order and all its beauty, and the only guide to its purposes and interpretation.'

Beyond this, and introducing the distinction between laws physical and moral,

'there is another conception about the method of the Divine action on the world, which is quite as important and quite as peculiar to the Hebrews, as their idea of the universal reign of Law, and that is the idea of the Divine laws being intelligible to man, and of their being recognisable by him as having a moral character, from their being in themselves just and righteous.' (P. 220.)

'Christian Theology' occupies the main part of the second division of this work. Here the object is to reach 'the fundamental conceptions of Christian Theology as a 'fact,' not 'to pronounce, or even to indicate, opinions on 'any of the points of doctrine which are in dispute between 'different sections of the Christian Church.' It may be difficult to secure a unanimous verdict that the Duke is entirely successful in adhering to his design; but this much may be said, that he resolutely adheres to the spirit in which he enters on the treatment of this great subject. His reasoning is clear and strong; he rejects pleasant commonplaces; does not restrict himself to the ethical teaching of the New Testament; but faces the grand problem of the Messiahship, and presents a fresh and manly discussion of Christian theology, as contemplated in the light of reason and of advanced science.

The headings of the opening chapter in this portion of the work indicate the line followed—'Christ as the Messiah.

'The nature of sacrifice, of faith, of inspiration, of regene-
'ration.' His inquiry is, How far Christian teaching on these points harmonises with the laws of thought, of right conduct, and generally of human life? How far can the doctrine of a Messiah be seen to fit in with the conditions of thought which human reason imposes? This particular truth is 'the one central belief of Christianity—
'namely, the instrumentality of a personal Messiah quali-
'fied to reveal Divine things, as they had never been
'revealed before, and qualified especially to give confidence
'to men in his character, as well as in his power' (p. 339). It is in the characteristics of our moral life that the key is found of the widespread acceptance of the Messiahship of Christ—and of the 'inexhaustible suggestiveness' of his meeting and sustaining natural law. In the opening up of this view of the Messiahship, the most valuable discussion in the volume is found. The Jewish people, as a people who were favoured with a special revelation, 'had an absolute
'belief in the omnipotence of God. But they had an instinc-
'tive belief quite as absolute, that omnipotence itself was not
'arbitrary in the exercise of its powers, but worked always
'through intelligible and moral laws.' Hence it is that the doctrine of sacrifice emerges, and holds so conspicuous a place in Christian theology (as it appears besides in many places, and in the midst of surroundings, that seem antagonistic to it). In the light of reason, there is apt to be in the first instance antagonism to a doctrine of sacrifice. A deeper investigation into human thought, as it involves responsibility and wakens sentiments of self-reproach, leads into those conditions of moral life which carry us beyond the early phases of doubt, making the offering of sacrifices something more than the outcome of groundless fears, the result of unreasoning traditions. This doctrine of sacrifice
'seems to us as if it implied some limit on omnipotence,
'some inherent need, such as we ourselves are under, to
'proceed always in the compassing of any purpose, upon
'some plan of operation in which natural laws can only be
'made subordinate by homage being paid to their inalienable
'and insuperable powers' (p. 332). Fully understood, our author contends, Christian faith lays deeper hold on natural law—'does not make void the law, but establishes the law.'

The Messiahship of Christ, as it is the central feature of Revelation, presents the test of the whole argument here developed; and upon this we concentrate as the portion most important for a critical notice of the work. There is

a common element of faith running through both the theology of the Hebrews and the Christian theology—that is, the reign of the Christ—a divinely commissioned Deliverer and Guide for all willing to receive Him. Of the presence of this faith among the Jews first, and among Christians afterwards, there can be no doubt. Even though the question of His having appeared was matter of contention and of severance between Jews and Christians, 'the 'mere statement of this alternative, which separates Judaism 'from Christianity, is enough to show how near must be the 'relationship in thought, between those who recognise what 'has already come to pass and those who only wait for it.' The faith is the same, and is founded in both cases on the same view of the Divine plan and purpose. The Messiahship was the central feature in the religious faith both of the earlier and of the later phase of life. This was, indeed, a 'superhuman' element, determined as essential for the welfare of human life; but it was not in their view 'super-'natural,' for these two were quite distinct. The conception of 'supernatural' had not even a place in their beliefs, so uniformly did they contemplate Divine agency as manifest in all history. 'They depended therefore, mainly, if not 'entirely, for the recognition of such a Messiah upon those 'rare spiritual faculties of the heart and soul, which are, as it 'were, the retina for catching the finest and purest rays of 'spiritual truth.' 'The very idea of what we now thought-'lessly and ignorantly call "the supernatural" was an idea 'unknown and logically unintelligible to them. They 'believed in the existence of a spiritual world underlying all 'visible things, and they expected it to make itself seen and 'felt in many ways.' 'It is, therefore, of infinite moment to 'observe that the theology of the Christian Church is built 'upon this conception of the universal reign of Law, if not 'more extensively, yet at least more consciously and avowedly, 'than the theology of the Hebrews.' Our author, granting that Superhuman Power supplies evidence on all sides of its efficiency, maintains that a Supernatural Power is an inconsistent conception.

His view of the relation of Christian faith to scientific teaching as to the unity of Nature may be concisely presented thus:—As all science bears witness to the co-operation of manifold forces for developement of one grand system of existence, we must accept it as the ultimate truth that Intelligence is at the centre of the whole system, and is manifesting itself to human intelligence in all phases of being,

and in all processes we have been able to decipher as affording explanation of observed results. When from the teaching of science we pass to Christian Theology, its central doctrine is the appearance of the Divine Intelligence manifesting itself in human form, carrying out Divine purpose in some higher, grander, and more enduring way than has been witnessed in previous history. Everything in this theological system is

> 'permeated with the conception of the Divine reign of Law, in the dealings of Jehovah with His universe, and with all the creatures of His hand. The predicted coming of some Person to do infinitely more, in the same direction, than any mere leaders or prophets had ever done before, was therefore in perfect harmony with the conception that every Divine, as well as every human, purpose is attainable only through the employment of some definite instrumentality.' (P. 328.)

Christian faith is in harmony with the position that intelligence is at the centre of all. No other conception of the Universe can explain the life and character of the historic Christ.

The Duke's presentation of the case for Christian Theology is clear and striking. In judging of its merits, these two things must be admitted as to his statement; first, that it faithfully represents the central feature of Christian faith; and that it accurately expounds, and unreservedly accepts, the fundamental positions of modern science. As to the criticism which will come from Agnostic circles, where faith depends on science alone, and is antagonistic to what will still be called 'supernatural' revelation, it is easy to reach a forecast. It will be granted that Nature is a unity; that existence, and movement, and procedure in Nature are accounted for by a combination of forces working out an intelligible system of relations. Human intelligence, it will be admitted, is equal to the reading of Nature, so as to demonstrate its intelligibility; but whether there is intelligence in all, and through all, Science cannot say; whether creative and constructive intelligence reveals itself to human intelligence cannot with certainty be affirmed. Whether it is only an amplification of the fundamental conceptions of modern science, that the creative intelligence should manifest itself more directly for the purification and elevation of human life, cannot be scientifically known. This position is not a strong one; it betrays lack of confidence in reason. It suggests that the limitations of common thought cleave around scientific thought also, tending even to narrow and cramp it to a greater degree. Worst of all, Agnosticism

shows defective appreciation of the difference of range belonging to scientific inference, and to philosophic thought, when dealing with the problem of Being.

Our author's position is that the Intelligence filling nature, working in all its history, and bearing highest witness as to its own essence in the appearance of Man, acts in analogy with all antecedent procedure, when Divine Intelligence is manifested in the human form, and in alliance with human intelligence, so conveying to man in human language, and expressly for human good, a larger revelation of the Divine purpose than could otherwise be given to the human race.

This is an argument founded on the analogy of Nature; it has, therefore, in the first instance, merely a *negative* value. Analogy does not satisfy conditions of proof; but it supplies instruments of defence. It meets the conditions of an apologetic. It rebuts the hypothesis of the impossibility—or even improbability—of the manifestation of the Divine in the human, for the good of humanity. If the Divine appears everywhere in the material universe—everywhere in the biological world—it is in accordance with the structure and history of the cosmos that there should be enlarged manifestation of the Divine Intelligence in man, and for man. This apologetic carries us even a stage further, for if humanity presents the highest result of creative agency, and if in human intelligence thoughts of God as the cause of all are common, it is in accordance with the system of things, as scientifically and philosophically interpreted, that Divine Intelligence should co-operate with the intelligence and voluntary effort of man towards attainment of that ideal life which all men, however dimly, recognise as the destiny of the race. This does not, even as an apologetic, imply a monistic conception of the Universe, but the contrary—an action of the Divine Intelligence upon the human, and for the human, for an end which is part of the grand purpose within the cosmic process. This conception is essential to the Biblical Theology; for, as our author says of the early Hebrew Theology,

'it is not mere Theism. It is not mere Monotheism. Still less does it partake, in the least degree, of the thought of Pantheism. . . . The Jewish conception of the Divine Being was absolutely different from all these. . . . He is the Father of our spirits . . . always represented as encountering, in the meantime, the opposition of rebellious wills.' (Pp. 204, 205.)

This apologetic has its basis in the common thought of man

concerning an Intelligence pervading Nature; and such thought is at once confirmed and extended by the entire history of scientic discovery.

But this argument, valuable as it is in the field of apologetics, cannot be carried into the region of constructive theology. It is not a demonstration of the divinity of Christ, nor of his Messiahship. These two distinctive features of Christian Theology must rest on historic evidence, apart from the sphere in which Science works. Science can have nothing to say as to the possible appearance of prophets or of specially inspired men, commissioned to guide the people in obedience to the laws of life. All the higher features of human life are thus beyond the scope of Science, whose limits need to be recognised much more fully than they have yet been. Tell us clearly what Science is, and you tell us with equal decision that it can offer us no help as to the loftier problems of human life. For a like reason scientific criticism of religious belief must be exceedingly restricted. The strongholds of religion are beyond range of the artillery at command. Agnostics are halted behind the mountain, and are occupied, as Cato said of Scipio, 'in 'places of exercise, as if they had not been sent to make 'war.' Their utmost advance is, according to their own avowal, at the base of the inaccessible. Approach is hopelessly closed against scientific methods. There may be much din in the camp; there is no breach on the citadel. The true outcome is an apologetic for Christian faith, not an argument for contentment with nescience. What else could have been the outcome, as the result of the marvellous uncovering of the processes of Nature, hidden throughout the ages? The common thought of humanity concerning a Superhuman Intelligence has not been disturbed; it has been strikingly confirmed.

When our author advances beyond the apologetic, towards constructive argument, he is restricted by the recognised limits of common thought. The distance between Natural Theology and Revealed is a further expanse, still more remote from Science.

'Analogies are not identities, and when analogies are used, as in this case, for the mere purposes of illustration, they may well be distant and imperfect. There is, accordingly, a vast space between that relation to the Godhead which belonged even to the greatest prophets "to whom the Word of God came," and that other relationship which Jesus Christ always claimed for Himself, and which St. John expressed by describing Him as "the Word," who became incarnate,

and who, in virtue of this embodiment, was both Son of Man and Son of God.' (P. 346.)

Thus entering the field of Revelation—widening the realm of the spiritual—we contemplate the Christ of history. Here we depend upon historic evidence, and we proceed to judge of His language and character, and avowed end, as interpreted in a Messiahship. The common thought of man neither directs us nor sustains us here, for this is 'super-'human' revelation—a discovery of truth which common thought cannot reach, and revealed in order that there may be an accomplishment of what unaided human effort cannot achieve, and which, nevertheless, must be realised in human history, if realised within the cosmos. There is here a new instrumentality for effecting a grander end. The Hebrew and the Christian faith are steadfast in this: that 'Omni-'potence itself is not arbitrary in the exercise of its powers;' even Omnipotence must use means commensurate with its ends. It is in this relation that the Incarnation of God appears, providing for the victories of a spiritual life, and laying the foundation of a 'kingdom of heaven.' The reality of such stupendous events can be established only on historic evidence. Advance in scientific knowledge has no more to do with the truth of the alleged events than has the advance of modern civilisation. Here the ancient world was as competent for judgement as the modern. The laws of evidence belong to all ages. There is, however, one grand advantage for the modern period. We have nineteen centuries of testimony to the power and value of the Christian religion. The most cautious inquirers—the most deliberate thinkers—can want nothing more than a searching application of historic criticism; they can be content with nothing less. Along with the marvels of advanced science must now be associated the marvels in discovery as to ancient history, which the excavations of our age have brought to light. Christian Theology, and Hebrew Theology also, have made large gains by the persistence of literary and historic criticism. Christian faith need desire nothing more than persistent application of the critical spirit, searching into the testimony at command of our age. Criticism, lower and higher, is laying tribute at the feet of Biblical Theology.

Our author, in prosecuting his argument, does not deal with the great metaphysical problems, which are vital to philosophy. He does not press the question of the possibility of the Superhuman Intelligence becoming incarnate,

and entering into vital relation with the human intellect. The whole range of questions emerging to the view of the metaphysician he is willing to leave on one side, as apart from the conditions of the common thought, which has supplied the 'Intuitive Theology' he has described. With this alone does he undertake to trace a harmony. His constructive effort is concerned mainly with the interpretation of the Christian system. The end of Christianity is righteousness, the elevation of humanity to its own ideal, always in view of man, sometimes obscurely, at other times, as in the history of Greek thought, more vividly. The affinity between the intellect of man and the Superhuman Intelligence is dwelt upon by the Duke, as showing that the teleology of Nature has its grandest manifestation in human life and history.

'The whole system of Christian belief rests on its conformity to the natural laws of one universal spiritual kingdom. It is in the light of this idea that the author of the Book of Hebrews insists on the Divinity of Jesus of Nazareth as in no way hindering the application to Him of the spiritual means by which human souls are prepared and disciplined in Divine knowledge, and in the acquisition of a Divine character.' (P. 343.)

Along with the signs of the superhuman in the Christ of history there is so much in accord with the conditions of common thought, so much besides penetrating to our deepest needs, so much wakening within us noble sentiments and aspirations, that the mysteries of the incarnation are either lost to view—as the forces of Nature remain unseen while we observe the issues—or they afford the mystic setting, which warrants rational expectation of greater things beyond, to minds brooding on transcendent realities, still unappreciated by many who do not fail to acknowledge the practical value of the message which Christ has published.

A survey of these three volumes published by the Duke presents a clear and well-sustained argument. The testimony of science is read with interest and enthusiasm; and it is shown fully to warrant our author's contention. Whatever may be said as to the *name* 'Intuitive Theology,' it is beyond question that common intelligence has carried with it some form of religious thought. Testimony to this fact comes as readily from the great names of ancient Greece as from the simple nomadic tribes of the desert. On the other hand, if we desire evidence in support of a commonly recognised need of a larger discovery of truth, and a higher

help than can be found in the forces of Nature, or in the organisation of society, it can be traced in the witness of philosophy. A modern thinker, whose philosophic gift is unanimously acknowledged, speaking of the 'definite capa-'bilities of man,' says, 'These capabilities are not realised 'in any life that can be observed, in any life that has been, 'or is, or (as it would seem) that can be lived by man as we 'know him.' * Does not this admission continuously come from the world's history? And if we consider what reason can tell us of a life beyond death, the words of Socrates may be accepted as the answer of philosophy—'If I were to 'claim to be at all wiser than others, it would be because I do 'not think that I have any clear knowledge about the other 'world, when, in fact, I have none.' † Is not the testimony of ancient and modern thought conclusive as to the world's need of the revelation of life and immortality which the Christ brought as a gift from heaven to earth? 'The funda-'mental conceptions of Christian theology as a fact' surpass all scientific teaching, but they supply the wants of the common mind and of the speculative thinker: strange they are in their boldness and grandeur to the disciplined intellects of all ages, attractive in their simplicity and power to the nations of men whom now we describe as the 'Christian 'nations' of the world. As to the 'outlook' for the world, we accept the words of our author—'Perhaps the greatest 'testimony of all to the supreme rank of Christian belief as 'a system of philosophy is in its evidently unexhausted 'reserve of power.'

As a spokesman for Christian faith, our author deserves high commendation for the form in which his defence is conceived and expressed. There is here no aversion to own the large advance of science; nothing of the timid or cowardly attitude, which apprehends that science is likely to mislead or to weaken faith. The writer is in full sympathy with all scientific inquiry, and has himself found a large measure of the interest of life in marking its triumphs. Nor is there on his part any distrust of human reason, as if free exercise of thought might encourage a spirit of irreverence, or of scepticism. His desire is to see a more effective study of the common tendencies of human thought, even when uneducated, and unaided by the gains of civilisation. And though he does not claim to have entered largely into the

* Green, 'Prolegomena to Ethics,' p. 189.
† 'The Apology,' p. 29.

sphere of metaphysic, it has been with him so much a necessity of intelligent life to face the complex problems of existence, and to pursue the lines of philosophic thought arising naturally from the progress of science, that he writes with enthusiasm. He fully recognises that reason is the power which will carry us furthest in appreciation of the wonders of Nature, and of all that is grandest in human life and most inspiring in human faith and expectation.

ART IX.—*Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies.* By Sir GEORGE GROVE. London and New York: 1896.

No true lover of music would like to admit that while it is undoubtedly the most emotional, it is also the least intellectual, of the arts. Nor do we believe there is any real ground, taking the widest view of the art, for laying it under such condemnation. Rightly discerned, music appeals as much to the higher intellectual faculties of our nature as any art except poetry, which is something more than an art. Yet one is tempted sometimes to relapse into a temporary scepticism on the subject, not because great music has been written by men of otherwise little culture or intellect (for here we shall be at once consoled by the recollection of Turner's paintings, as compared with his life and conversation and literary efforts), but in view of the general intellectual level of the literary and critical appreciation which their works evoke. Not only is the average writing on subjects connected with painting far in advance of that on music in intellectual perception and literary style, but writers on painting understand that their office is not only to praise, but to discriminate, an idea which seems to be beyond the pale of the musical critic's perceptions.* His usual attitude towards a great composer is one of indiscriminate adulation, expressed with that effusiveness and tawdriness of epithet which is one of the worst vices in literary style; and it is not surprising that well-educated and thoughtful people who are not essentially musical should look, as they often do, with some suspicion on the claims to veneration of those who, as Voltaire said when he heard the gun-firing at Annecy on Christmas eve, are 'adorés comme 'cela.'

No great musical genius has suffered more lately from this kind of unreasoning adulation than Beethoven. To merely question the artistic propriety or perfection of anything which he wrote is to expose oneself to the charge of a kind of profanity. Why is a great composer, more than any other class of producer in art, to be exempt from all critical judgement as to his works? When J. Addington Symonds produced his admirable and thoughtful study on Michelangelo he did not hesitate, although the book originated in his great admiration for and interest in its

* We are speaking, of course, of criticism on composers and compositions, not on concerts and executants.

subject, to endeavour to analyse and discriminate in regard to the productions of the artist, and to show where he was greatest and what were his limitations. Michelangelo was as great a genius as Beethoven—possibly greater, and most certainly a greater man; but no one thought of accusing Symonds of audacity for attempting a critical estimate of his genius. But any one who attempts to adopt the same attitude of critical consideration in regard to Beethoven excites among the ranks of professional musicians and musical critics either anger or a kind of foolish surprise: 'he even criticises Beethoven,' &c.; as if the object of all art-criticism that is worth the name were not to get at the whole truth about art, and as if discriminating admiration were not a better homage to offer to any artist than mere blind prostration of the judgement before him. Those, we venture to think, who can judge in a dispassionate spirit the works of Beethoven, and who can realise where he was least successful, are also those who can appreciate most fully his highest and greatest works, though they may not be so ready to prate about them: the deepest and sincerest enthusiasm is not always the most loquacious.

There are three prevalent fallacies in regard to Beethoven recognisable in current musical criticism. The first is that to which we have already referred: that he was a perfect artist, who could do no wrong, and who is, as it were, to be swallowed whole. The second is, that his works exhibit a continuous progress or developement, from the beginning to the end of his artistic career, towards a higher ideal and a higher accomplishment in the art. The third is, that he first brought instrumental music to its true mission of expressing not only emotional feeling but intellectual meaning. The first of these may be best answered, not categorically, but by implication, in reference to some of the points we shall have to touch on in the succeeding pages. But one remark bearing on the subject may be made here. It is one of the amusements of the modern musical critic—a rather shallow one—to reprint passages from the criticisms on various works of Beethoven's written on their first appearance, and invite the reader to enjoy the joke of comparing these with the modern idea as to the same compositions. Some of these older criticisms are no doubt amusing—nay more, astounding—as showing how blind (or deaf) the first hearers of a great musical composition may be to beauties which seem self-evident to us now. But there are others of which it may be said that they were not only honest, but very fair

and rational criticisms from the artistic standpoint of their authors, and there are some which are true up to the present day, though they are not such as are popular now. It does not do to adopt the theory that all the early criticisms which seem to most people out of date now were necessarily foolish. Habit, the familiarity engendered by frequent hearing, is as much a disturbing element to the critical faculty as novelty. As to the second point, the 'progress' fallacy, that idea has taken such possession of the modern mind in musical criticism that people seem absolutely to be losing all perception of the essential distinction between science and art, and imagine that the latter is necessarily and of its nature progressive, like the former. The theory has been applied to Beethoven, perhaps, in rather an *ex post facto* manner: it has been desired to show that Wagner is the roof and crown of things musical, the ideal to which everything has been leading up; therefore it must be shown that Beethoven led up to him, and that Wagner was the natural sequence of the Ninth Symphony. Between one critic and another a regular argument in a circle has been started and kept up on this point. Sometimes it is that Beethoven's genius was always developing to the last, and therefore the Ninth Symphony must be his greatest work of the class; at other times it is that the Ninth Symphony is his greatest work, and therefore his genius was always rising to a higher developement. It does not seem to matter which way it is put to critics who are determined at any rate to have 'progress' mapped out. That Beethoven actually was, to the end of his career, striving to get more and higher intellectual aliment out of music we fully admit. There is abundant evidence of his ambition in this respect, even to the fact of his angrily repudiating the style and aim of many of his own earlier works.* The question is, Did he accomplish it? *Solvitur ambulando*, and we question the fact of the 'ambulance.' Of this more anon.

What we have called the third fallacy—that Beethoven first brought instrumental music to its true or highest

* As when, according to Nohl, he heard Fräulein Streicher practising his Thirty-two Variations in C minor, which he had forgotten, and said, on being told they were his own: 'O Beethoven, what a donkey you were then!' Thus, if he could, he would evidently have deprived us of the most interesting and original study for the handling of the piano in all modern music, not to speak of its remarkable concentration of musical design.

function, of expressing definite ideas and emotions, present to himself as the basis of the music, even if not obvious to his hearers—we call a fallacy not because there is no truth in it, but because it has been pushed a great deal too far as regards any known facts about the motives of Beethoven's compositions, and because it is very questionable, perhaps more than questionable, whether it is in theory the most true or the best manner of regarding the æsthetic function of instrumental music. In fact, this very generation, which 'seeketh after a sign' in music, seems to be under a curious unconscious contradiction of feeling on the subject. The three composers who 'draw' at the present day, at least in the professedly musical world of amateurs, are Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner; Handel and Mozart being left out in the cold as inferior composers. As we are only dealing here with purely instrumental music, we may leave Wagner out of consideration; and then we may ask how it is that the same set of people who are never tired of insisting on the necessity of a 'poetic basis' in instrumental music, and who reverence Beethoven as the composer who first gave full impulse to this element in the art, at the same time profess an equal reverence for the author of the 'Wohl-'temperirte Klavier,' than which no collection of instrumental compositions can be more thoroughly free from any suggestion of poetic basis? We are not forgetting what Spitta has so well and so truly pointed out, in a passage which has been referred to before in these pages, that Bach's fugues for the clavier (and still more is it true of those for the organ) are not to be regarded as fugues written for the sake of fugal structure, so to speak; that they are the expressions of musical moods of feeling, which took the fugue form because that was at the time the highest and accepted form for the expression of the most serious musical ideas, just as Beethoven's most serious moods of feeling were expressed, for a similar reason, in the sonata form. But 'poetic basis,' in the sense in which it has been used by modern critics, obviously means something more than saying that the music must be the expression of feeling, and not mere sound-structure: it means, if it means anything, that the music must be the expression of an idea which could, if the composer so willed it, be defined in words. There are a few compositions of Beethoven's which confessedly and by his own showing belong to this class, and it is assumed that there are others which would equally admit of this literary definition had the composer chosen

to take us into his confidence. There is an element of dramatic expression in them which suggests the idea that there is something definite to express; and it is further assumed that in this fact lies the vivifying power of Beethoven's instrumental music, and the secret of its hold on our emotions. But it is impossible to predicate anything of the kind in regard to the 'Wohltemperirte Klavier,' the only collection of keyboard music which can be said to hold a position at all parallel with that occupied by Beethoven's sonatas. With the single exception, perhaps, of the sad and tender prelude in E flat minor in the first set (and that is probably only an apparent exception), these preludes and fugues are absolutely undramatic; they are compositions cast in a highly conventional mould, the structural method of which will not admit of any varying play of feeling; they are the artistic antipodes of the Beethoven sonatas; the æsthetic methods of the two sets of compositions may almost be said to be mutually exclusive. If, then, 'poetic 'basis,' as supposed to be exemplified in Beethoven's instrumental music, is the way of musical salvation, why this simultaneous veneration for the instrumental works of Bach? With the veneration we are entirely in accord, but the venerators have obviously got something wrong with their logic.

Instrumental music is the expression of emotion, of a mood of mental feeling, through the medium of sound, but in subordination to artistic form. Both the emotional impulse and the artistic structure are necessary to the production of really vital musical art. A symmetrically constructed composition, written as a mere academical exercise, apart from any emotional impulse, may give a certain amount of interest and pleasure as a piece of design, but will not retain its hold for long, as it makes no appeal to the deeper and more permanent emotions of mankind. Mere emotional expression, on the other hand, however poignant, will not satisfy our intellectual demand for artistic form. But it is not in the least necessary that the origin of the emotional feeling which is at the basis of the music should be definable in language. On the contrary, it may be said, in a general way, that the more it is defined, or can be defined in language, the less suitable is it for expression in music; as Beethoven himself said, in his preliminary memoranda in regard to his most distinctly 'poetic basis' symphony, 'All painting in instrumental music, if pushed 'too far, is a failure.' For music, like architecture, is in

its artistic form a physical symbolism of metaphysical ideas, and the relation between the symbol and the idea is such as, for the most part, it is quite impossible to define in words; if it were possible we should not require music, which is to express something that words cannot express.* And it is not so much in regard to the emotional impulse as in regard to the artistic form that a composer often needs, and is influenced by, suggestions from without. Take the well-known case of the recurrent four notes in the first movement of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, which form such an important element in the whole design of the composition, and which are said to have been suggested by the repeated knocking at a door in the neighbourhood of the composer's house. The anecdote seems to be regarded as true by Beethoven students; it is certainly not in the least improbable. No one can dignify that by the name of 'poetic basis;' but it furnished a suggestion for musical form; it started, so to speak, the wheels of rhythmical fancy; and, the suggestion once made, the application of it was amplified into the dominant motive which was to bind the whole composition together. At another time it may be a phrase suddenly occurring to the composer's mind, he knew not how or why, as in the interesting story of the theme of the *scherzo* in the Ninth Symphony occurring suddenly to Beethoven at the moment of stepping out of darkness into a brilliant light. The phrase itself might have occurred to many another man, as likely as not; the genius consisted in perceiving what could be done with it. And the incident, it will be observed, disposes of any theory of 'poetic basis' for this extraordinary composition, which would afford as good an excuse as almost any other movement in Beethoven's works for imagining some special meaning to be attached to it. But it is evident there can have been nothing of the kind here; it is simply a glory of musical fervour and excitement,

* Even in the case of vocal music the relation between the words and the music is far more vague and arbitrary than is generally realised, as is proved by the fact that music written for one set of words may be set to quite different words, and appear, to those who have not heard the composition in its original form, to have been written expressly for them. How many listeners, for instance, in hearing the air, 'He layeth the beams of His chambers on the waters,' have imagined it an instance of Handel's peculiar genius in adapting his music to the words? And not without reason; it sounds as if written for them. Yet it is only an adaptation, by another hand, of words quite different in character from the original Italian text.

which stirs the blood as if one met the living crowd in Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' and heard the 'Evoë!' and the cymbals clashing. Nor do we need any explanation, save the beauty of artistic contrast, for the fine episode of the *trio*, and the startling blast from the trombone which seems to set it going. One wonders that the 'poetic basis' people have never attempted to give us the precise meaning of that trombone note!

Now, if we had the same knowledge as to the moment and method of origination of the themes of all the other movements of Beethoven's symphonies, we should very probably find that the majority of them originated much in the same manner as the *scherzo* of the Ninth Symphony. How Beethoven hammered at his melodic ideas to forge them into better shape, and get all that could be got out of them, we know from his notebooks, and for this knowledge being brought before them, and almost, one may say, popularised, the English musical public are mainly indebted to Sir George Grove. Whence arose the original inception of these melodic ideas we do not know, except a rather doubtful story of the bird origin of the first phrase of the C minor Symphony. But, as we see in the instance of the *scherzo* just referred to, the melodic phrase almost accidentally, one may say, occurring to the composer really originated and dominated the whole composition. It was not an effort to express any idea secreted behind the music; it was simply a musical creation, a work of art. People have busied themselves, for instance, about the meaning of the first *allegro* of the A major Symphony, a composition of remarkable and striking individuality, even among Beethoven's works. We take it that the meaning of it is the music itself, and nothing more. Given the idea of the first phrase of the movement occurring to Beethoven—probably in a cruder form at first—just as the first phrase of the Ninth Symphony *scherzo* occurred to him, and we want nothing more to account for the form of the composition. And hence we would suggest that the distinction between the symphonies of Beethoven and those of his predecessors is in reality a difference in degree rather than in kind. We have the one confessed piece of programme music, the 'Pastorale,' which stands apart; and we have the Third Symphony, which is distinguished by a general title indicating that it is in honour of a hero. But beyond that the distinction of Beethoven's symphonies seems to be that they are the work of a more powerful intellect and a more intense nature

than any which had been before directed mainly to instrumental music, working with ampler and more highly developed materials of utterance. How slight an event was a symphony in the early days of Mozart we are forciby reminded by the expression in one of his father's letters: 'The symphonies at all concerts are by Wolfgang.' The symphony was at that date a musical entertainment which a boy of genius could undertake to provide, *couramment*, as it was demanded. Mozart himself foreshadowed something far greater for it in that memorable year in which he wrote his three prominent symphonies—in E flat, G minor, and C—of which, again, the two latter tower above the E flat, and represent much more serious work. Indeed, he did something more than foreshadow, for his G minor Symphony is one of the most remarkable instances of concentrated and impassioned expression, with perfect structure, to be found in music; and it is almost a question whether the *finale* of the Symphony in C, in regard to some of the highest qualities of musical art, has been surpassed even by Beethoven,* though there is a difference in scale, of course. Mozart wrote these three symphonies, it is true, very quickly, as compared with the slow process of developement characteristic of Beethoven; but Mozart was a quick worker, partly because he had by nature a much stronger grasp over musical construction than Beethoven. Apart from this, no doubt, Beethoven's was the stronger and more serious intellect, the deeper emotional nature; moreover, he came in with the opening of the floodgates of the Revolution period, and the more romantic feeling which permeates his music is not merely his own—it is that of his epoch. Added to all this, he had the opportunity of dealing with fuller means of expression in the increased size and executive powers of the orchestra, which he soon perceived how to turn to account. Hence the symphony with him became an altogether larger and more highly elaborated work of art, of more serious import than before; and his grave conscientiousness in his art—which was one of his most remarkable qualities—led him to think no thought and trouble too much to perfect his works in every detail; not that they are more perfect in detail than Mozart's, but the scale is greater and the detail far more multifarious and elaborate, and making,

* As we heard it remarked once by a musical amateur (who was also an ardent lover of Beethoven), 'I have sometimes the fear that I shall die before I have realised all the beauties of that *finale*.'

therefore, a greater demand both on composer and hearer. Apart from his merely musical genius, also, Beethoven was a man of much stronger feeling and greater individuality of character than Mozart, and this quality of human character naturally comes out in his music—*le style, c'est l'homme.*

But all this does not necessarily imply that his symphonies, with the exception of the 'Pastorale,' were, as musical art, on an essentially different æsthetic basis from all previous instrumental music. In fact, even the idea of the 'Pastorale,' that of representing the beauty of Nature in music, was not new; it was only that no great composer had tried it before, and that Beethoven, as a child of the new era, had that broad and deep feeling for Nature which in poetry and painting, and in literature generally, is a feeling essentially modern. The 'Eroica' Symphony bears the general indication that it is for a festival in memory of a great man; the simple word 'Eroica,' as suggesting the broader and more poetic associations connected with the word 'hero,' would have been better alone. But, on the one hand, let it be asked, Should we really have lost much of the enjoyment of this work if we had had it without even this indicating title? Would not its general character have explained itself? The Funeral March, of course, would; the *finale* has nothing to do with the nominal subject of the work at all. The *scherzo* may or may not have; compared with the other scherzos there is a certain recognisable martial character about it. In the first movement the title is necessary to explain the strange and abnormal passage just after the bit of contrapuntal treatment—a passage which, as Sir George Grove says, 'defies quotation'—which is an excrescence on the main design of the composition, and which (*pace* Sir G. Grove) has little musical beauty; and there is one other passage, to be noted when we come to speak more particularly of this symphony, which to our mind acquires, from the suggestion of the title, a more pathetic beauty than it would otherwise have; but that is about all. The real 'Sinfonia Eroica' is the C minor Symphony, which we can feel to be such without any literary explanation; which leads up to the great climax of the triumphant March at the close, whereas the *finale* of the 'Eroica' is an anti-climax. On the other hand, could we know what was the feeling which inspired Mozart to write that G minor Symphony—so passionate, so concentrated, with such a unity of style and feeling, and at the same time so different from his usual manner—we might find that there was

something behind it which deserved a characterising adjective just as much as the 'Eroica;' but Mozart is inscrutable in this respect. The explanations on record about one or two of Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas are as little decisive. Schindler records that the two sonatas, Op. 14, were scenes between lovers, or 'the entreating and resisting principle.' The one in G is obviously conversational in many parts of the first and last movements, and the explanation is a pretty and fanciful comment on a form of musical design, which, however, quite explains itself; the Sonata in E (a much finer work) does not answer to the suggestion, which adds nothing whatever to our enjoyment of it. Schindler's further statement, that his request for a key to the meaning of the Sonata in D minor and the so-called 'appassionata' sonata, was met by the reply, 'Read 'Shakspeare's "Tempest,"' is still further from the mark; the 'poetic basis' must have been vague indeed which could supply nothing more definite than this as a key to two works very different in character, and written at an interval of two years. Probably the answer was given to get rid of Schindler's importunity for the moment; it has, at all events, the merit of being harmless. Beethoven at one time (in 1816) meditated the publication of a new edition of his Sonatas, in which the ideas which suggested them were to be stated. We may be thankful indeed that we escaped this.

Whatever view we take, however, of the æsthetic basis of Beethoven's symphonies, they stand—the latter seven at least—as among the most remarkable works of art which have ever been given to the world, and their composer as one of the most remarkable of men; and there was much in their method of production which presents an interest different from that which is connected with any other works of instrumental music. An analysis of their general features, with a record of the known facts in connexion with their inception and progress, the early performances of them, and the impression they made on their first appearance, such as Sir George Grove has collected and put into a popular form, was therefore quite worth doing; and, as far as the record of facts is concerned, no person in England was probably so competent to do this. Sir G. Grove has the merit, among popular writers on music, of having probably taken more pains to be accurate in his information, and to hunt down and dispose of inaccuracies, than any of his predecessors in this country; insomuch that,

where he gives a fact or an anecdote as reliable, we feel that we may accept it as such without hesitation, and that where there is any doubt as to the authenticity of a statement we shall be told so. This is much in the literature of music, which swarms with unreliable and imaginative anecdotage. If the author had confined himself to putting together all that he knew as to the facts connected with Beethoven's symphonies, he would have produced a book a good deal smaller than this, certainly, which every musical person, professional or amateur, would have been glad to have in his library; and if he had added a brief analysis of each movement, giving the leading themes (though there would be many who would not want that), it would have been useful to some readers, and unobjectionable to the remainder. Unfortunately, he has attempted a great deal more than this. He has undertaken to act the part of a kind of musical showman to Beethoven's symphonies (for that is what it really amounts to)—to point out all their various beauties with an exuberance of superlatives which becomes wearisome and almost irritating to the reader. To him the world of Beethoven's symphonies is the best of all possible worlds, and everything is for the best in it. When we consider that these essays are founded on, or to a great extent reprints of, the programme articles which the author used to write for the Saturday Concerts when he was secretary of the Crystal Palace, we can easily understand the kind of influence under which this exaggerated optimistic style would develope. A zealous official of the institution which gives the concerts is naturally under the temptation, in such a case, to write up everything in the programmes to the highest point, to keep an audience composed largely of people with only a limited knowledge of music constantly under the impression that everything they are hearing is of especial beauty and interest. There is far too much of this in annotated concert programmes generally; the writers of them are not content to give a short analytical guide to the composition, but must needs thrust their own opinions and their own enthusiasms on the audience, who, if they are worth anything, can feel all this without having it put down for them; and that which is in bad literary and critical taste in a programme-book for temporary use becomes far more objectionable when put in more permanent form in a book. And Sir G. Grove seems to have no sense of proportion at all in his enthusiasm: he is ready to go into ecstasies over everything. Take this

passage, for instance, about the *coda* of the last movement of the Second Symphony:—

'Earth is forgotten, and we are in heaven. The rhythm changes; the bass goes down octave after octave *pianissimo*, distinctly heard through the thin scoring' (here follows a quotation from the work). 'A fresh subject comes in in the wind; the opening theme is once more alluded to, but only to lead to an entirely new thought—a magic shimmering, impressive as the evening sun shining broad and low on the ocean; a lovely flowing melody in the oboe and bassoon, accompanied in notes of equal value in the basses, and with a pedal D through three octaves in the horns and violins. The beauty of this passage words cannot describe; it is pure Beethoven, a region full of magic and mystery, into which no one ever before led the hearers of music.'

The passage referred to is a very charming episode in a symphony which (except the slow movement) is the least beautiful and interesting of the nine; but to write about it in this way is worthy only of 'the undying Laura Matilda;' and it is inaccurate too, for a 'pedal' is not a note, but a form of musical construction, and the 'D' in this case is merely a long holding-note common to the successive chords in the passage referred to.* On other occasions his tendency to exaggeration is more seriously misleading. After remarking on the curious fact that the opening phrase of the 'Eroica' Symphony is anticipated in the opening of the overture to Mozart's youthful opera, 'Bastien et Bastienne,' he breaks out in this fashion:—

'These are among the links which convey the great apostolic succession of composers from generation to generation. Handel builds on a phrase of Carissimi or Stradella, and shapes it to his own end—an end how different from that of his predecessor! Mozart does the same by Handel; Mendelssohn goes back, now to the old Church melodies, now to Bach, and now to Beethoven. Schumann and Wagner adopt passages from Mendelssohn. Beethoven himself is not free from the direct influence of Haydn, and even such individual creators as Schubert and Brahms bind themselves by these cords of love to their great forerunner; and thus is forged, age by age, the golden chain, which is destined never to end as long as the world lasts.'

Anyone unacquainted with the history of music would gather from this passage that each great composer was dependent

* The author might have found the true definition of a 'pedal point' and the distinction between a 'pedal' and a mere 'holding-note' from the article on 'Pedal Point' in his own 'Dictionary of Music,' where it is very clearly demonstrated and illustrated by Mr. F. Corder.

more or less on the use of themes borrowed from a predecessor, and he would be rather astonished to find that the only ground for it was the existence of occasional plagiarisms by one composer from another (or of accidental coincidences), which form quite an insignificant element in their works. Moreover, the resemblance between Mozart's little overture and the theme of the 'Eroica' Symphony is certainly accidental—one of the curious coincidences in music, of which others are known. To imagine that Beethoven, in the mood he was in when composing that symphony, would have deliberately 'lifted' its leading theme from a youthful and nearly forgotten opera overture of Mozart's is preposterous.

When he can keep clear of rhapsodising Sir G. Grove can often express things in a picturesque and piquant manner by the use of a happily chosen expression which exactly conveys the idea required, especially in regard to instrumental effect, of which he seems to have a keen perception. Thus, in speaking of the opening phrase of the C minor Symphony, he refers to the effect of the 'long roar' of the strings on the last note of the phrase, an expression which comes naturally from one who has heard it at rehearsals and in close proximity, instead of from the ordinary position in the auditorium; and he is equally happy in describing how, in the opening of the Fourth Symphony, a low *pizzicato* note from the strings 'lets loose' a long holding-note in the wind instruments. This is exactly the effect produced on the hearer; the short 'cluck' from the strings seems somehow to be the cause of the long note from the wind.* Sir G. Grove's quick æsthetic perception on points of effect of this kind, and his frequently happy phrascology in characterising them, we gladly recognise. But the general style of his

* It would be curious to consider what is the origin of the pleasure which this little incident in the first bar of this symphony always gives one. We should say that it is a highly artificialised bit of enjoyment, only possible to those who have studied the methods of treatment of the orchestra to a certain extent, and arises from our recognition of the refined æsthetic perception of the composer in regard to the character and capabilities of the two classes of instruments. He wants to begin very quietly with a long liquid-sounding note from the wind instruments; but the actual moment of commencement might be hardly sufficiently marked, so he just punctuates it, as it were, with this short note from the strings, about which there can be no doubt. It is one of the most characteristic examples of Beethoven's close attention to detail in his symphonies.

book (except where he is dealing with mere facts) is tawdry and exuberant in a literary sense, and exceedingly unbalanced in the critical sense; and the author made a great mistake in thinking that he could promote the further appreciation of Beethoven by constant rhapsodising, which, so far from appealing to the best-educated class of readers, will rather have the effect of preventing them from giving the book a permanent place on their shelves, in spite of the information imbedded in it. Some of us, at least, have too much real respect for Beethoven to wish to see him gushed over.

In offering a few remarks on certain points in the symphonies, and on some of Sir G. Grove's ideas in regard to them, we may observe at the outset that we do not agree with the estimate which rates the Second Symphony as superior to the First. The First is (except the Minuet) a symphony in the school of Haydn, of remarkable finish and beauty according to that school. In the Second, Beethoven seems to have been, as it were, feeling his way towards the broader style of handling, and the more romantic feeling which was to characterise his later works; the passage in the *coda*, referred to above, is one of the instances of this. But he has not fairly come to his colours, and on the other hand he has lost for a time (except in the slow movement) the clearness, concentration, and finish which delight us in the First Symphony; the first and last movements are lengthy in proportion and unwieldy in detail, as if the music were trying to lash itself into sublimity; the themes are much less spontaneous and melodious than in the corresponding movements of the earlier work; and the Minuet in the First Symphony is, beyond comparison, more charming and more original than its successor in the Second Symphony; the former contains, in fact, the first suggestion of the new character which Beethoven was to give to the third movement of the symphony,* while the latter is a kind of exaggerated Haydn minuet, without the tunefulness of Haydn. As to Sir G. Grove's attempt to persuade his readers that the *finale* of the Second Symphony puts into the shade that of Mozart's G minor Symphony,

* Beethoven had already given intimation of this in the *scherzo* of the C major Sonata, published five years before the symphony, though the two were in all probability composed about the same time. He seems to have been at this time much more cautious about new departures in a symphony than in a pianoforte sonata.

such a remark only shows that he does not appreciate the difference between force and vigour, with diffuseness of form, and the same qualities combined with concentration and perfect balance of form; Mozart's *finale* (which of course represents his fully developed genius) is a far superior work in an artistic sense, and those who do not feel that can have little perception of style. On the other hand, we may quote with entire sympathy his characteristic comment on the procedure of the conductor at Halle who omitted the six introductory bars to the *finale* of the First Symphony, on the ground that they would make people laugh: 'If Beethoven 'wanted us to laugh, why should we not?' which is unanswerable. There are other passages, in Beethoven's later works, where he obviously wanted us to laugh, and was laughing himself; to have imported a new humorous element into instrumental music was one of the achievements of his genius, though he sometimes allowed it to approach a little too near the borders of the grotesque.

The period of a year, which is believed to have separated the conclusion of the Second from the commencement of the Third Symphony, might almost have been a quarter of a century for the æsthetic distance traversed, at all events as far as the first movement of the latter is concerned. To our thinking, this first *allegro* of the 'Eroica' Symphony is in some respects the most remarkable thing in the whole range of the symphonies, and, with all the Beethoven-worship of the day, we doubt if there are many who appreciate it at its full value. The number of melodic ideas it contains, their intense emotional expressiveness, their dramatic contrast, and the manner in which they are all welded into a complete artistic whole—all these elements combine to give this composition a place almost apart in the creations of the art of instrumental music. As a matter of artistic form the manner in which the various 'subjects' seem to be linked, and to grow naturally out of each other, forms the first complete realisation of the important step in regard to continuity of structure which Beethoven introduced in instrumental music—the apparently spontaneous blossoming of a new melody out of what preceded it, instead of its formal introduction after a break or a pause. Mozart, indeed, had largely indicated this in the minor details of his symphonies, but his principal sections were still in general separated by the artificial pause, the relic of the first origin of instrumental composition, in the succession of different dance tunes. The peculiarly pathetic character of some of

the themes in this first movement of the 'Eroica,' the dramatic contrast of others, show how strongly the composer's impassioned nature was excited by the contemplation of the heroic ideal, nowhere more so than in that first subsidiary theme which goes sighing from one instrument to another, and which is the passage we referred to before as being perhaps the one which specially needs a knowledge of the ideal underlying the whole composition for us to fully appreciate its pathos. For there can be little doubt that this passage, with its intense expression of sadness and longing, represents (consciously or unconsciously) that phase which comes into every life of heroic conflict—the remembrance of past days of tranquillity and happiness. The same idea is evidently present in the second subject of the fine battle movement in Sterndale Bennett's 'Maid of 'Orleans' Sonata. The full pathos of this passage in the symphony, as well as the full grandeur of others in the same movement, is to some extent lost in performance by the too great speed at which the composition is nearly always taken by modern conductors. The direction 'Allegro con 'brio' has a very large margin in Beethoven's music, and Schindler, from his observation of Beethoven's own conducting, is emphatic on this point: 'a perfectly tranquil move-'ment should prevail from beginning to end, even in the 'loudest parts.'* Too often with the modern conductor it becomes in many parts a kind of scramble; nor have we ever heard it done with all the expression of which we believe it is capable. And as to the general appreciation of its poetic symbolism, what are we to expect when we find an enthusiast like Sir G. Grove, who on one page exhausts superlatives in praise of this symphony, telling his readers on another page that, in spite of the alteration in the title-page (the removal of the original dedication to Napoleon), 'it is still a portrait '—and we may believe a favourable portrait—of Napoleon,

* Sir G. Grove himself draws attention to the complaints of the length of the symphony on its first production—that it 'lasted a full hour'—and asks whether the present forty-five or forty-six minutes of performance indicates an increase of speed in the present day. Of course it does. The 'full hour' was perhaps a slight exaggeration. The Funeral March is probably played now at the original speed, and perhaps the *scherzo*; the other two movements are almost undoubtedly played considerably faster. This does not matter for the *finale*, as it will bear a high speed as long as the rapid passages are clearly executed (and orchestral instruments are much more agile now than formerly); but the first movement will not bear it.

'and should be listened to as such' (!) If he had wanted at one blow to materialise the whole thing, to crush all the true poetry out of it, he could not have done it more effectually.

There are two other points for comment in connexion with this symphony. Sir G. Grove goes into ecstasies over the celebrated passage where the horn sounds the notes of the principal subject in advance, as if to show that it is coming, in a position where those notes are out of relation to the harmonic structure. 'All the rules 'of harmony are against it; it is absolutely wrong—as 'wrong as stealing or lying—and yet how perfectly right 'and proper it is in its place.' Nonsense! As far as we have observed, neither those who have attacked nor those who have defended that passage have ever perceived what was the real point in regard to it. It is not a question of 'rules of harmony;' there are no such things, except in a relative sense; it is that it is out of keeping with the whole principle on which musical symbolism and musical structure are carried out, not only generally, but in all the rest of this very composition. It is really materialistic, not poetical. It means that Beethoven, from some momentary freak of the intellect, chose, instead of foretelling the *design* of the principal theme by a phrase in connexion with the musical structure of the passage, to sound its actual notes at a point where they do not conform to the musical structure. The momentary discord produced to the ear is a secondary matter; the important point is the deviation from æsthetic principle; and those who cannot see that do not understand the metaphysics of music. Of course we do not suggest that Beethoven did not know what he was doing, but only that it was an æsthetic escapade, and not a happy one. In regard to the *finale*, Sir G. Grove persists, with his usual optimism, that it is an appropriate climax to the whole scheme: 'he must have written it because he had something 'to say about his hero which he had not said in the other 'three movements.' In that case, why did he take an old theme (a very rare procedure with him) and work it up again, even to the use of that freak of playing variations on the bass of the theme before letting the hearer have the real theme; treating them, too, in a semi-grotesque manner —a musical joke surely as out of place, in connexion with the rest of the symphony, as anything could well be. To our thinking, the internal evidence of the *finale*, which, though brilliant and effective to listen to, is loosely put together and deficient in unity of design, clearly points to

the fact that there was some hurrying up of the conclusion of the symphony; that the composer was desirous to complete it for presentation to the person to whom it was dedicated, and hence the adoption of an old musical idea which could be worked up rapidly into an effective concluding movement, without the long deliberation which the evolution of new musical ideas always cost him. At all events, one thing is certain—no one who regards the *finale* as an adequate climax to a symphony with such a commencement as the 'Eroica' can ever have risen to a real feeling of the poetic greatness and significance of the opening movement.

The Fourth Symphony is a work comparatively underrated at the present day, because no sort of pretence of 'poetic basis' can be manufactured out of it; but it is really one of the finest of all in its broad genial beauty and its perfect finish in form and detail; and if one wanted to select an instrumental composition which should be a type in music of the quality of Greek art, no better illustration could be found than this symphony; it has the clearness, the balance, the serenity (*Heiterkeit*, as Walter Pater called it), which belong especially to Greek art. Nor do we by any means see the 'drolleries' which Sir G. Grove seems to find in it. The music is quite above the humoristic level, There are one or two passages in the *finale* which might seem to excuse that idea, but the whole movement is really a glorious revel of joyousness, and reminds one of Beethoven's remark to Bettina, 'Music is like wine, and I am the 'Bacchus pouring it out.' To the exquisite beauty of the Minuet and Trio, however, Sir G. Grove does full justice. The slow movement is noteworthy for what we may call its serenely impassioned character; passion deep and earnest, but in its expression never outstepping for a moment the limiting lines of artistic form. The first *allegro* is remarkable for the great use which Beethoven makes of the musical device called 'syncopation,' involving the temporary displacement of accent from the accented to the unaccented part of the bar; and it is very curious to consider, as an instance of that 'symbolism' in music of which we have spoken, the remarkable and unaccountable effect on the mind of this device as employed here and elsewhere by Beethoven, which seems to give wings, as it were, to a phrase which might otherwise hang comparatively dead. There is one passage in this *allegro*, first occurring at bar 139, the melody played in octaves by the violins, which is one of

the noblest and most uplifting passages in the whole range of instrumental music, and always recalls to us Gray's famous lines about the Theban eagle

> 'Sailing with supreme dominion
> Through the azure deep of air;'

but the effect depends almost entirely on the cross-accent given to it by the syncopation; without that it would be tame and cold in comparison.* It is strange to note that this noble work is the one which, of all the seven great symphonies of its composer, 'draws' least in our concert-rooms. Our musical taste is in a somewhat morbid state in this generation; like the æsthetic lady in *Punch*, we must have everything 'intense.' If we were in a more healthy emotional and intellectual condition we should recognise, as the Greeks did, that for art to be serene, joyous, and beautiful is also its highest strength.

The C minor Symphony, the next in order, might seem at first thought to contradict this; but on reflection we shall see that the real greatness of the C minor lies in its breadth and simplicity of style, and in the noble and triumphant character of the *finale* which forms its climax. Try to think of it as without the *finale*, and where would it be? And, in spite of the tragic character of conflict in the first movement, there is nothing morbid about it, while the slow movement, with all its pathos, is beautiful and symmetrical almost throughout. The popular opinion that this is the greatest of the symphonies, which is echoed by Sir G. Grove, is, we think, sound. It is true that Spohr's criticism of it as 'rough' or 'coarse' (not in the letter quoted by our author, but in another) is not without its point; it wants the delicacy of detail which is found in some of the other works; and Spohr's remark that 'the opening of the first 'movement is wanting in the dignity which, to my mind, is 'indispensable for the opening of a symphony' would also have a certain truth if this were a symphony constructed on the usual lines. But though Sir G. Grove is perfectly right in his remark that the first movement, in spite of its passionate character, is as symmetrically constructed as any

* In the *finale* of the C minor Symphony, again, the tremendous energy of the unison passage leading to the first subsidiary subject arises entirely from the strong accent, twice in each bar, on what would naturally be the unaccented notes; without that the passage would be commonplace. But if we ask why this is so, we seem to be driven back on Browning's phrase, 'We are made so.'

other, the symphony differs from most others in the fact that the first movement is not, as usual, the most important; the final march is that to which everything leads up, and the first movement is more like a prelude than like the usual first movement of a symphony, though a prelude of most serious and vital import to the whole. Beethoven's recorded remark about the leading phrase, 'It is thus that Fate knocks 'at the door,' though it may have been an afterthought or illustration only, furnishes, nevertheless, a very interesting suggestion to the hearer, without tying him down to materialistic explanations; but Sir G. Grove cannot be content to leave it where Beethoven left it, and just as he has done his best to materialise the 'Eroica' by telling us that it was a portrait of Napoleon, so he does his best to materialise the C minor Symphony by the quotation of the account of a scene between the composer and Countess Brunswick over a music-lesson, and invites us to regard the first subject of the movement as representing Beethoven, and the second subject as Theresa! He would have employed his own time and the printer's to better purpose if, instead of thrusting this gratuitous assumption upon us (the only effect of which is to bring down the music from the higher region of the ideal), he had made some attempt to get evidence as to the manner in which that first subject should actually be played, the most important point remaining unsettled in regard to the reading of Beethoven's symphonies, and to which no reference is made. Though the movement is simply marked 'Allegro con brio,' Schindler distinctly states that Beethoven always took the phrase at the opening, and also at its recurrence in the middle of the movement, in slower time. Mr. Cowen, when he was conductor of the London Philharmonic Society, startled some of his audience by adopting this reading, which, however, is probably right. Schindler, who played Boswell to Beethoven,* seems to have been a poor creature, as Boswells (though useful to the world) usually are; but the account which he gives in his 'Life' of Beethoven's alterations of time and special *nuances* of expression, in regard to

* A story was current in Vienna that Schindler had the words 'Ami de Beethoven' engraved on his cards; but Sir G. Grove, in his notice of Schindler in the 'Dictionary,' dismisses this as a satirical invention. In the same notice he observes that 'Schindler's honesty and intelligence are to be trusted,' an opinion which is of importance in regard to his evidence on the point referred to above.

some other compositions, is perfectly reasonable and probable, and the alterations are such as unquestionably contribute to the higher effect of the passages quoted; and as all of these refer to rather delicate points in the execution of the music, it is exceedingly improbable, if Schindler could notice and record them, that he should be mistaken as to the much more marked and important modification of the theme of the C minor Symphony. We take it that his tradition is correct, and ought to be taken account of by conductors; though it would have been more satisfactory, of course, if Beethoven had formally marked the change of time in the score.

The C minor Symphony is not without its eccentricities in some minor points, of which one is the twice-repeated 'false start' of the basses in the second part of the trio, which has no pertinence or charm, that we can see; and the other is the passage of arpeggios for the violins and violoncellos in turn in the slow movement, which we are told was particularly obnoxious to the old Philharmonic people in the early performances of the symphony, though, Sir G. Grove tells us, it is 'now necessary to our enjoyment;' that is to say, we have got used to hear it, and should therefore miss it if it were taken out. Truly we may say with Goethe, 'And this 'they call criticism!' It is a weak passage, a platitude in an otherwise perfect composition; and this is one of the instances we referred to above in which the early critics were in the right. The most interesting and curious of all the facts collected by Sir G. Grove about the symphony is that in regard to the *scherzo*, of which the first phrase is identical in intervals, though not in rhythm or character, with the first phrase of the *finale* of Mozart's G minor Symphony. The character of the two compositions is so absolutely dissimilar that everyone would have set this down as one of the accidental coincidences of music, but for the fact that Beethoven had copied twenty-nine bars of the melody of Mozart's composition on the adjoining page of his sketch-book; so that the resemblance in the intervals was not accidental, though beyond this it is difficult to see that the one composition owes anything whatever to the other.

The 'Pastoral' Symphony is the popular one with the masses, because it presents them with a distinct realistic idea which they can easily grasp, or think they do; but there is no doubt that it has been overrated by comparison with its companions. Although Beethoven, except in the unlucky bird passage at the end of the second movement—

the special delight of popular audiences—has kept wonderfully clear of anything like realism, there can be little question that it stands, intellectually, at a lower level than any others from the Third to the Ninth. Indeed, we have heard an amateur—not a conservative in music, but a man of 'advanced' views, and an enthusiastic cultivator of Wagner—candidly express a wish that Beethoven had never written it. This we certainly cannot echo; it was a thing to be done once, and Beethoven has done it wonderfully, but we doubt if its influence on the art has been for good; it has served to point the way to a less intellectual and abstract use of music, and has been the parent of whole libraries of 'programme music.' It is the only one of Beethoven's symphonies of which, on the whole, it may be said that it is less effective the oftener it is heard; it is possible to get tired of it, except, perhaps, of the *Andante*. This latter is no doubt one of the most remarkable examples of pure sensuous beauty of sound-combination to be found in music; it ravishes the ear by its melodic sweetness and the beauty and delicacy of its continually varying detail, as well as by the happy tone-picture which it presents of the slumberous murmur of Nature on a glad summer day. The criticism which was passed on it in early days—that it was too long, and full of repetitions, and might be shortened with advantage—though it seems strange to us now, was not so unreasoning from the point of view of the older school of musicians as might be supposed. They regarded music as a matter of form rather than colouring, and, accustomed as they were to the concentrated construction of Mozart's slow movements, they did not at once realise that a new element of variety was to be introduced, in the shape of variations of orchestral combination and detail. Mozart's slow movements could be reduced to the level of a pianoforte arrangement without losing any of their essential beauty; a composition like this could not—it requires the ever-varying detail of the instrumentation to keep up its interest and vitality. It could hardly be expected that the old school of musicians should realise that all at once, but they were not on that account necessarily stupid. Some of the early criticisms on the work—as that it was more in the nature of a fantasia than a symphony properly so-called—are true enough to this day, in reference to the rest of the composition. Sir G. Grove observes, quite truly, that there is something in the monotony and repetition of phrases in the first movement which suggests the monotony of sound in Nature; but the

monotony of Nature is one thing, the monotony of art is another. We may never tire of the living landscape, but we may very soon tire of a decorative treatment of landscape. The finest part, next to the *Andante*, is the Storm, which has an element of the sublime in it, and keeps wonderfully clear of materialism on the whole, considering how hazardously near to it we get now and then. It is noteworthy that the very finest feature in it is that powerful and striking phrase first introduced at bar 35 (Sir G. Grove's quotation No. 41), the one prominent feature in the movement which has absolutely nothing to do with any suggestion from Nature, but is simply a musical expression of fury and perturbation. The 'rumble' produced by the employment of groups of four notes against five in the basses and violoncellos, so that none of the notes are sounded together, is a thing perfectly indefensible on any principle of musical æsthetics, and a most unhappy precedent to be set by a great composer. A writer in the 'Saturday Review' once, in reply to a criticism of this kind, actually was shallow enough to put the question: 'Why should the notes be 'sounded together?' He might as well have asked why we should select certain sounds, out of all the possible ones, to form a musical scale, and ignore the intervening sounds. Music is an artificial art, based on an arbitrary selection of sounds having certain relations to one another; to ignore those conditions is to destroy the whole basis of the art.

The next Symphony, the A major, is one of the greatest of all, and is a gratifying return to the higher regions of metaphysical beauty, after the comparative materialism of the 'Pastoral' Symphony. Romantic as this symphony is in feeling, strongly marked as it is by individual character and style, there is not the slightest clue to it, any more than to a symphony of Mozart's; for which let us be thankful, though one cannot help being amused to find Sir G. Grove, because he has no reasons to offer himself for the form or character of any of the movements, scolding those who have tried to give explanations, as if he had not been doing just the same thing himself with the 'Eroica' and the C minor Symphonies. Some of his expressions in regard to the music are happy, as when he says that the *trio*, at the modulation into F just before the return to the *scherzo*, 'seems to *go out*, as if it 'were a flame,' which is very much the effect produced. But Sir G. Grove lays far too much stress on what he assumes to be the humour, or 'boisterous mirth,' in this symphony, a quality which we do not find in it; it is something far

higher than that, and we object to having it dragged down to that level. If one were to add an adjective to it to characterise it, as in the 'Eroica,' we should be disposed to call it the 'Chivalresque' symphony, at least as to the first and last *allegro*. The latter seems full of the clash of arms; the former seems the music

> 'Of tourneys and of trophies hung,'

only in an idealised form. One might even continue the quotation in application to the succeeding movement, the *allegretto*—

> 'Of forests and enchantments drear,
> Where more is meant than meets the ear;'

for music has seldom shadowed forth such a strange dream-country as this, so haunted by mysterious presences; and in this light there really does seem to be a direct significance in the fact that the movement begins and ends with the same long chord from the wind instruments, reminding one somehow of the ivory gate of dreams; it seems impossible to doubt that there was some fancy of the kind in the composer's mind in placing these two chords as sentries at the opening and close of the movement. There is much for special note in this remarkable composition: the variety with which the theme, though repeated many times, is treated throughout, so as never to become monotonous; the pathetic effect of the restless movement kept up by the basses, even beneath the calm and consoling melody of the second subject, like the beating of the heart; the tenderness of the unexpected modulation at bar 135, which Macfarren has commented on so eloquently in his analysis of this movement; and other points not to be illustrated without quotations. The *scherzo* is rather superficial in comparison with the rest of the work, though brought again into the regions of pathos by the beautiful *trio*, which seems to come suddenly from another world, and of which it is strange to find that the theme is an old Austrian 'Pilgrims' Hymn.' As used here it seems to be full of deep feeling, though a great part of the effect lies, no doubt, in Beethoven's addition of that long-drawn-out high note for the violins which accompanies it, like a level line of light in the evening sky.

The first movement of the A major Symphony, like the first movement of the 'Eroica,' has its *locus vexatus*, the long passage near the end where the basses repeat the same phrase over and over again, and about which Sir G. Grove makes the same mistake as in regard to the passage in the

coda of the Second Symphony, speaking of the holding note of the wind instruments as a 'pedal point.' His analysis of the passage we cannot accept; and though in general it is unsuitable to introduce musical technicalities into an article of this kind, we must be allowed here, in case any musician should read this, to give what we consider the true construction of a passage which has caused much discussion; and those who do not understand musical technique can pass over this paragraph. From his quotation in 'short score' Sir G. Grove evidently thinks that the E in the horns is the real bass, and that the basses and 'cellos are playing a melody above it. This is a mistake. The E for the horns, owing to the confusion as to notation for these instruments, is written an octave lower than it really sounds. (On this point we may again refer Sir G. Grove to the pages of his own Dictionary, article 'Horn,' written by Dr. Stone, who knew more about wind instruments than most people.) The real bass is the phrase for the strings. In the six bars preceding this passage the basses and 'cellos are making a regular descent through G, F, E, and finally to the low D, to which the 'cellos continue their descent; the only reason the basses do not is because their lowest string is E, and therefore they necessarily take a leap to the higher octave (where, however, their actual sounds are still below the E of the horn); but the progression in the violoncello part is conclusive as to what Beethoven meant. The succeeding passage, the *locus vexatus*, reduced to its simplest harmonic terms, might be defined as a succession of alternate harmonics of $\frac{4}{2}$ on D and $\frac{6}{3}$ on C sharp (the '4' of the former chord is not actually present), the wind instruments sustaining the E, which is common to both harmonies; the bass, however, plays round the C sharp with a melodic phrase in order to maintain the characteristic rhythm of the composition. At all events, no one with any perception of musical logic, who looks at the position of the basses immediately before and immediately after this passage, can have any doubt that this is the true interpretation of it, and that they have been playing the bass all through; and we hope that point may be considered as settled. Whether the passage itself is an addition to the beauty of the composition is very questionable. It introduces an eccentric and slightly grotesque feature into a composition which in every other respect is perfectly clear and well-balanced, and the critics who objected to it when the work was first produced had more reason on their side than people in the present day are willing to allow.

The Eighth Symphony shows in its first three movements

a curious reversion to an earlier and more naïve style and feeling, and its real beauty has been, perhaps, rather underrated in consequence of its simplicity. The *finale* belongs to a different region, and is a most extraordinary mingling of impetuosity and fire with almost grotesque humour, alternating with passages of great beauty and grandeur. While admitting the obviously humorous element in it, however, we have little sympathy with Sir G. Grove's jocular expressions on this point (as where he tells us that one passage is as if Beethoven said 'Boh!' to us), which might pass for the moment in a musical symposium, but are in very bad literary taste, and suggest an element of vulgarity in the music which certainly does not exist; and when the author, seeking for a reason for all this outbreak of musical high spirits, admits that 'it is exceedingly hazardous to attempt 'to connect Beethoven's music with the simultaneous events 'of his life,' one is inclined to ask why he did not find that out before, and what else he has been attempting to do in many previous pages of his volume.

Concerning the massive and colossal movement which opens the Ninth Symphony it is difficult to speak with precise discrimination. In no composition, perhaps, has Beethoven shown such sustained grandeur and elevation of style, with the exception only of the rather eccentric and certainly not happy device of anticipating the real subject by the weak and uninteresting tentative passage, as it may be called, which mystifies the hearer at the opening. This is one of the eccentricities by which Beethoven sometimes vexes us unexpectedly in some of his greatest works. How far grander and more impressive would have been the immediate starting off with the broad and powerful unison passage which forms the real theme of the movement! And yet the modern Beethoven critics would persuade us that this preliminary passage is an added beauty, simply because it is there. But, with all the elevated style of the composition when it fairly commences, the earnest tone which pervades it, the breadth of phrasing (especially shown in the wide-spaced intervals constantly employed in the bass), and the amount of interesting and highly finished detail in the orchestration, there seems to be a want of spontaneity and charm about it in comparison with many of the composer's earlier works; it has not that indefinable magic of beauty which we find in so many of its predecessors; we seem able to analyse its effect; it is the music of determination rather than of inspiration. Of the *scherzo* we have already spoken. As to the *adagio*, which takes the peculiar

form of an instrumental song with instrumental symphonies (for that is the real definition of it), words can hardly do justice to its beauty. It is true that in an æsthetic sense it is not quite so perfect and rounded in form as some others of the slow movements. It is somewhat discursive; but it grows in beauty as it proceeds, and the new melody introduced at the change of time to *andante* is one of the most wonderful in all music: it is as if the whole sadness and longing of humanity—the *lacrymæ rerum*—were summed up in it. It is with the *finale* that we have to drop into the questioning mood again. The theme to which the first verses of Schiller's ode are set is indeed a golden and immortal melody, such as once heard can never be forgotten. But in the prelude to it Beethoven has become materialistic again. The crashing discords which precede both the instrumental introduction and the subsequent vocal portion of the movement are obviously discords of set purpose, introduced in order to contrast with the 'joy' which is to follow, and the rebuke of the bass solo, 'Friends, not 'these tones,' &c.; but this employment of music involves a perfectly false æsthetic. It is the employment of sounds which are literally and materially harsh, instead of the symbolising of harshness by the legitimate use of musical expression. The conversational recitative passages for the basses, in which they seem to comment on the themes offered to them, form a piquant piece of musical humour, but it has been much overrated; it is hardly a kind of device in keeping with a great and serious work of art, and it is, moreover, of a kind which becomes less effective the more one becomes familiarised with it. In the subsequent developement of the music the composer seems to have lost his artistic balance altogether, and the expression of Fanny Mendelssohn when she first heard the symphony, which is quoted by Sir G. Grove: 'A gigantic tragedy with a con-'clusion meant to be dithyrambic, but falling from its 'height into the opposite extreme—into burlesque,' is no more than the truth, however harsh the words may seem; and many people who hear it even now in their own hearts feel the same, if they would say the truth.

With this result we feel convinced that the composer's sad affliction of deafness had something to do. However a great composer may hear music with the ear of the mind, the bodily ear counts for something in the matter also, and we are convinced that if Beethoven had still possessed his bodily faculty of hearing, he would not have written those 'crashes' at the commencement of the *finale*, nor the

absurd grunts for the contrafagotto which introduce the march, nor the noisy and screaming passages through which the chorus have to scramble later on. Some part of the misfortune, however, is to be attributed to an inherent excitability of temperament, which increased as Beethoven advanced in life, and which led him to exaggerate the climax of a composition to a degree totally at variance with true artistic balance, and even with the musical dignity of the subject treated. We see this tendency even in earlier works, which are otherwise sound and symmetrical enough in form. We see it in the conclusion of the 'Hallelujah' from the 'Mount of Olives,' which begins as one of the most sublime of choruses, and ends like an opera overture; in the *presto* at the end of the Symphony in C minor, which brings the composition to what is called a 'brilliant 'close,' but at the expense of the grandeur and dignity which have characterised it up to that point; or (to come to later works) in the *presto* which winds up the 'Gloria in Excelsis' of the Mass in D, with the hysterical shouts of 'Gloria' at the close; in the extravagances of the 'Et vitam venturi' chorus in the same work *; and, last of all, and most prominently, in the *finale* which in the Ninth Symphony forms such an unfortunate anti-climax to an otherwise great and sublime composition. And if the reader be told that this is 'flat blasphemy as ever was committed,' we would exhort him to have the courage to think for himself instead of following the fashions of musical critics; to remember that indiscriminate worship is a poor homage to pay to genius, creditable neither to the genius nor to the worshipper, and that one may bow the head before Michelangelo's figure on the Medici tomb without therefore thinking the Christ of the 'Last Judgement' an ideal portrayal of the Saviour; and, finally, to be grateful to Sir George Grove for his facts about Beethoven's symphonies without accepting his fancies.

* The manner in which this colossal, but most unequal and tantalising, work is run after now is a curious instance of the influence of fashion in musical taste. Like the 'Passion-musik' of Bach, the Mass in D has become a kind of popular idol, to the entire exclusion and forgetfulness of the composer's more simple, but much more beautiful, Mass in C, mainly because it is a late work of the composer, and is very big and very difficult. We should say unhesitatingly that there is not a movement in the Mass in D equal to the 'Quoniam' of the Mass in C, with its broad and perfectly balanced style and essentially vocal or 'singable' character; and yet the public who run after the later work know nothing of the earlier one, and many are hardly even aware of its existence.

ART. X.—1. *The Life of the Lady Arabella Stuart,* in Two Parts, containing a Biographical Memoir, and a Collection of her Letters, with Notes and Documents from original sources, relating to her History. By E. T. BRADLEY (Mrs. A. MURRAY-SMITH). 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1889.

2. *The Life and Letters of Lady Arabella Stuart,* including numerous original and unpublished Documents. By ELIZABETH COOPER. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1866.

3. *Despatches Preserved in the Archives of the 'Frari' at Venice*: the Series, in MS. folio, labelled 'INGHILTERRA, 'Senato III., Segreto':—namely, Vol. II. Gio. Carlo Scaramelli, Segretario, 1603; Vol. III. Pietro Duodo, Nicolo Molin, Amb^ri, 1604; Vol. VIII. Marc. Ant. Correr, Francesco Contarini, Amb^ri, 1609; Vol. IX. Idem, 1610; Vol. X. Marc. Ant. Correr, Antonio Foscarini, Amb^ri, 1611; Vol. XI. Ant. Foscarini, Amb^re, 1612; Vol. XII. Idem, 1613; Vol. XIII. Idem, 1614; Vol. XIV. Idem, 1615; Vol. XV. Antonio Foscarini, K^t, et Gregorio Barbarigo, Amb^ri, 1615.

UNTIL recently, our best authority for Lady Arabella Stuart has been the biography which Miss Cooper published close upon thirty years ago. Miss Cooper, however, with some justice, complains in her preface of having been prevented from using many MSS. in family muniment rooms; but the times have now changed, private archives and collections have become generally attainable, and after the lapse of a third of a century a new work on this most unfortunate princess of the luckless house of Stuart was certainly called for. Mrs. Murray-Smith has done us this good service, and in her recent work, having had access notably to the Cecil Papers, besides other MS. records, she has been able to set in their true light for the first time many important incidents, and fill in details of the biography which Miss Cooper had perforce left blank. On some points, nevertheless, the new volumes still fail to afford us full explanation, and hence it will be found worth our while to examine the Despatches of the Venetian Envoys who resided in London during the years when Arabella Stuart played a somewhat prominent part in English history. The Venetian *Dispacci* of this epoch have not yet been published either in Italian or in any translation, for the latest volume of the 'Calendars of State Papers: Venetian,' which Mr. Horatio

Brown is so ably editing, only brings the student down to the time of the Spanish Armada; but the original despatches are preserved among the Archives at the 'Frari,' in Venice, where, thanks to the liberality of the Italian Government, they may be consulted by any who take an interest in these matters.

During the long reign of Elizabeth the Republic of Venice kept no envoy in England until the very last year of the Queen's life, when, in order to seek redress for the acts of English pirates, Secretary Scaramelli was despatched to London. He reached England in February, 1603, and obtained one interview with the Queen at Richmond, before her death, March 24, O.S. On the accession of James, the Doge sent two ambassadors, the Most Illustrious Duodo and the Most Illustrious Molin, on special embassy of congratulation, and from this date onwards one or two envoys continued to represent the Serene Republic at the English Court. In regard to the events of the life of Arabella Stuart we, therefore, have an uninterrupted succession of contemporary despatches from the beginning of 1603 down to 1615, when, in October, Arabella closed her unhappy life a prisoner in the Tower.

Precisely five weeks before the death of Queen Elizabeth Secretary Scaramelli penned a despatch (dated February 27, 1603) to the Doge in order to explain to his Serenity the exact lineage of the various pretenders who might shortly lay claim to the English crown. He names four possible claimants to the crown, but adds that it is most difficult to obtain certain information on this subject, 'seeing that it is 'a matter above all others to be avoided in conversation, and 'this under pain of high treason.' The Secretary begins by reminding the Doge how King Henry VIII. had been the husband of *seven* wives, all of whom, except the first, he had espoused 'a modo suo' after breaking with the Church of Rome. The number seven is reached by counting Lisabetta Polontia, Elizabeth Blunt, the mother of Henry Duke of Richmond, as one of Henry's lawful wives, doubtless because at one time it seemed likely that her son—whom Scaramelli calls by his second title, Duke of 'Somer,' a mistake for Somerset—would gain a place in the line of succession. The Duke, however, as the Venetian Secretary remarks, had died (in 1536) before his father, and without leaving issue, neither had the legitimate children of Henry VIII., to wit, Edward VI. and Queen Mary, left surviving descendants, and Queen Elizabeth being in a like case,

Scaramelli then takes up the lines of descent from the two sisters of Henry VIII.—that is, Queen Margaret of Scotland, who had married, secondly, the Earl of Angus, and Mary, the widow of Louis XI. of France, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. It is then explained that the descendants of Queen Margaret of Scotland were two—James VI., the present King of that country, and Arabella Stuart, his first cousin, since her father, Charles Lennox, had been the younger brother of the unfortunate Darnley.

Scaramelli passes next to the heirs of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII., called the Suffolk line, since these were the descendants of her second marriage. This line was now represented by the Earl of Hertford, who in right of his late wife Katharine, sister of Lady Jane Grey, might set up a claim for himself and his sons, more especially through the provisions of the will left by Henry VIII., which was to the effect that, in default of the King's issue, the crown should descend to the children of his younger sister Mary—the express intention of Henry being to exclude the Scottish line. Of the children of the Earl of Hertford and Katharine Grey (whose mother was daughter of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk) more will be related in the sequel; all that need now be remarked is that this Suffolk claim was, as Scaramelli puts it, 'of no great moment, by reason of 'illegitimacy, for Katharine had been married to Edward 'Seymour, Earl of Hertford, secretly and illegally.'

The fourth possible pretender to the throne, mentioned by Scaramelli, was a descendant of the White Rose—namely, the fourth Earl of Huntingdon, whose mother, Katharine, was daughter of Lord Montague, the elder brother of Cardinal Pole, and hence a great-grand-daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. The Secretary states that Huntingdon, though now living in retirement with his only grandson, was held in much esteem by the nobility, among whom he could count many connections; the Earl was further greatly beloved of the common people, especially the citizens of London, and it was generally believed that he would in due season be one of the first to lay claim to the succession, however fruitless this act would certainly prove in the result.

The despatch from which the foregoing extracts have been made contains some information about Arabella Stuart which will probably solve one of the minor problems which have puzzled her biographers, but it may be as well first to recapitulate the chief incidents of her life about which there

can be no dispute. It will be remembered that Arabella was the only child of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, younger brother (by eleven years) of Darnley. She was therefore niece of Mary Queen of Scots, and first cousin of King James. Arabella was born in 1575; when the child was two years old her father died, and at the age of seven she lost her mother, Elizabeth Cavendish, being thus left to the care of her grandmother, that redoubtable dame the Countess of Shrewsbury, commonly known as 'Bess of 'Hardwick,' whose second husband had been the father of Elizabeth Cavendish aforesaid. The child Arabella was brought up chiefly at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, and at no great distance from here, either at Sheffield or at Chatsworth, Mary Queen of Scots, her aunt, was kept prisoner, in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. After the execution of the Scottish Queen in 1587, Arabella, a child of twelve, was taken to court and treated with some favour by Elizabeth, who thus brought her forward as a sort of foil to the pretensions of James. Elizabeth, however, as time went on, became jealous of her possible successor, and Arabella, being suddenly sent back to Hardwick Hall, was kept there almost as a State prisoner during the last ten years of the Queen's reign. The following is the account which Scaramelli gives in the despatch from which we have already extracted the paragraphs relating to the succession :—

'Arabella,* who was born in England, is now in her twenty-eighth year, a woman of great beauty and of rare qualities, being possessed of many talents, among the rest able to speak Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, all in addition to her mother tongue—English. She is further of great nobility of mind, having ever steadfastly nourished the opinion that she must succeed to the crown. This princess has always lived far distant from London, under the care of Protestant governors and governesses, and for this reason is of that faith. Now, some fourteen years ago, the Queen caused Arabella to be brought to the Court, intending to keep the maiden there as one of her ladies; but Arabella, though at that time still almost a child, showed such haughtiness of demeanour that only the first place could satisfy her pretensions, and, on a certain day when going to chapel, she of her own accord took the precedence of all other princesses who were following her Majesty, refusing to give way, although several times admonished thereto by the Master of the Ceremonies—asserting that this was the least place that could now, God willing, be given to her. Upon which the Queen, becoming wroth, had her sent back to live in private

* The name is invariably spelt *Arbella* in the despatches written by Scaramelli, as was the custom of the time. Ambassador Foscarini, in 1615, on one occasion writes *Herbella*.

station, and, neither at the leave-taking nor since, would her Majesty ever be persuaded to see her.'

The biographers relate how, during the last year of the life of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Arabella had been giving everybody infinite trouble by her love affairs; though who the person was on whom she had fixed her affections is a point that has not been satisfactorily explained. Mrs. Murray-Smith has for the first time published the numerous letters of this period, but this 'mysterious episode' is still only partially cleared up. More than once the Queen sent Sir H. Brounker down to Hardwick to examine into the matter, but Arabella became hysterical when pressed on the subject, wrote numberless long and silly letters to Brounker when he had again departed for London, and protested that she could and would reveal the secret of her love to the Queen only, and in person. Elizabeth, however, absolutely declined to grant her an interview. From various hints in the contemporary letters, it has hitherto been supposed that the person to whom in 1602 Arabella had secretly engaged herself was that very William Seymour whom, eight years later, she married, though it is generally admitted that this supposition is, on the face of it, absurd, since William Seymour in 1602 was a boy of fifteen. Scaramelli solves this small mystery by stating that it was Thomas Seymour, uncle of William, to whom Arabella was now engaged; but before quoting the words of the despatch, it may be well to recall a few of the facts relating to the Seymour family, which gave the importance of a State secret to this love affair of Arabella Stuart.

Queen Mary of England had inaugurated her unhappy reign by beheading Lady Jane Grey, whose claims to the succession then passed to her only sister Katharine. Jane and Katharine, it will be remembered, were the granddaughters and co-heiresses of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the younger and favourite sister of Henry VIII., whose claims to the succession Henry had by his will set above those of his elder but hated sister, Queen Margaret of Scotland. Hence it followed that when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, Katharine Grey became heiress presumptive by Henry VIII.'s will. As already mentioned, Katharine, in 1560, secretly married Edward Earl of Hertford (son of the Protector Somerset), and the marriage being discovered, Elizabeth promptly committed the lovers to the Tower. Here Katharine bore her husband two sons, Edward Lord Beauchamp in 1561, and Thomas Seymour, born in 1563.

The Commission, however, appointed by the Queen to examine into the matter, declared that, in spite of all Hertford and Katharine could bring forward to the contrary, no marriage had really taken place, and that consequently the children were illegitimate. The facts of the case were that the only witness, Jane, sister of Lord Hertford, was then dead, and that the parson who had performed the ceremony was not forthcoming. After eight years of imprisonment in the Tower, Katharine died, and the Earl subsequently obtaining his release, had striven, on more than one occasion (namely in 1580, 1588, and 1589, by deeds drawn up before a notary-public), to establish the legitimacy of his two sons Edward and Thomas. Edward Lord Beauchamp, the elder of the two, had married in 1585, and it was to his second son William, born in 1587, that the scandal about Arabella in 1602 has hitherto been supposed to allude. This, however, is now fully disproved by the despatch which Scaramelli wrote on February 27, 1603. The paragraph begins by a summary record of the descendants of Mary Duchess of Suffolk, explaining that Katharine, who took secretly for her husband 'Edoardo Semer, Conte di Erfort' had two sons, 'Thomaso et Edoardo Semer, Conti di Arbic' (which latter title, in the mouth of a Venetian, doubtless represented the Barony of Hache, which had been conferred on the Protector Somerset), and the despatch then continues as follows:—

'The Queen is now much disturbed by the news of an attempted flight on the part of Arabella from the castle where she has been made to live [Hardwick Hall], it being rumoured that on more than one hand proposals of marriage have been made to her; further, it is generally said, and such may well be the fact, that she has a great preference for that same Thomas Seymour whom I have more particularly mentioned above as being the son of Katharine Suffolk and of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the said Thomas being of an age suitable to hers, and of most rare excellence in both body and mind. For mere suspicion, however, in so jealous a matter, the Queen, so long as Thomas Seymour keeps out of the way, is not anxious to show any extreme rigour. Hence, fearing either that tumults should be raised among the people, or made anxious by some other unknown cause, all that her Majesty has as yet done is secretly to order the doubling of the guards round the castle [of Hardwick] aforesaid. This is situated some fifty miles from London, and here the unfortunate lady has now lived for many years, not exactly as a prisoner, but, so to speak, buried alive by what was her own act and will.'

It may be worth while here to note that already during the preceding year, the Jesuit, Father Rivers, writing (on July 26, 1602) to his friends on the Continent, reports that

'some have an intention to marry the Earl of Hertford's 'second son with Arabella,' and this, since the Jesuits (whatever their other failings) were generally reputed to be very exact in their information, certainly tends to confirm the account given by Scaramelli, that it was Thomas Seymour (and not the boy William) with whom Arabella was now engaged in an intrigue. Connected with her attempt to escape from Hardwick and the guardianship of her grandmother, the Dowager Countess, is the story of the suicide of John Starkey, at one time tutor to Arabella, who had promised him the post of her chaplain. He had, it appears, fallen in love with his former pupil; but the details of the incident, about which there is still some mystery, may best be read in the letters which Mrs. Murray-Smith has now published for the first time. Scaramelli refers to the matter in the following paragraph, which occurs in the next weekly despatch, that of Thursday, March 6 (O.S. February 24).

'In the house of the Lady Arabella the body of one of her chaplains has been found with his throat cut. This man, who had been her tutor, and who was also the most intimate person of those about her, is generally believed to have taken his own life, having on his conscience a knowledge of the recent plots. But it seems that her Majesty will not at present move further in this matter, although she holds in her hand many intercepted letters of the said Lady Arabella which are deemed to be of great importance.'

A week later (March 13, O.S. March 3) Scaramelli writes that 'the marriage of the Lady Arabella is now every day 'spoken of more freely,' adding he hears that both the King of France and the King of Spain are favourably inclined to this match, hoping that, her claims to the throne being thus united with those of the Suffolk branch, Arabella would certainly succeed Elizabeth, and so prevent England, Scotland, and Ireland from being united under a single sovereign; a state of things that neither France nor Spain could contemplate with satisfaction.

The next despatch (March 20, O.S. March 10) gives the news of the death of the Countess of Nottingham, and of the subsequent illness of the Queen. But the true cause of the illness of Elizabeth Scaramelli considers 'to be the 'anger suffered by her Majesty at the doings of the Lady 'Arabella.' He continues:—

'Affairs with the latter have come to such a pass that this son of the Earl of Hertford, to whom she is said to have promised herself in marriage, having suddenly disappeared, and being no more to be heard of, the Lady Arabella has now been taken out of the custody of

her grandmother, the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, and lodged in that same castle where Queen Mary of England did at one time keep her sister Elizabeth, the present Queen, a prisoner.'

Hatfield is presumably the place indicated, where Elizabeth had lived during the last three years of her sister's reign. But neither this place nor Woodstock (where Queen Mary had sent her sister on releasing her from the Tower) would appear ever to have been tenanted by Arabella, who, according to the information given by Mrs. Murray-Smith, was placed under the care of her kinsman, the Earl of Kent, at Wrest House, during these last few weeks of the life of Elizabeth. Dr. Lingard, on the other hand, says that Cecil sent her to Sheriff Hatton; the place, however, is unimportant, the fact that Arabella was kept out of possible mischief, till the succession was settled, being the only point of interest.

The envoy next relates how Elizabeth, wishing to prevent news of her own illness and of the annoying behaviour of Lady Arabella from getting abroad, had suddenly ordered the ports to be closed, by the which measure letters and persons going over sea would have been stopped; but the orders, Scaramelli adds, had come down too late, and, the mails having already gone, the matter was allowed to drop. The despatch continues in cypher, and, as this paragraph serves to explain the letter of the following week, it may with advantage be given in lieu of a prefatory note:—

'All men, however, are now in a state of suspense, but those who belong to the faction of the King of Scots, and have the power of exciting the popular compassion for Arabella, are now on the contrary occupied in spreading rumours defamatory to her good name, both as regards the past and the present time.'

The next weekly despatch begins likewise in cypher, and with the following paragraph:—

'March 27 [Thursday 17th, O.S.], 1603.

'Most Serene Prince,—The agent of the King of Scotland, who is residing at this Court in much privacy—his chief object being to gain the Lords of the Council and others for his King, labouring in such wise on the one hand that, while he obtains the goodwill of these, he shall not on this very account fall under the mistrust of the other side—has of late been compassing to bring it about that the Lady Arabella be no longer prevented from carrying her marriage into effect. In concert with those of his friends in the Council, he acts thus because they deem Arabella to have lost her good name [*pudicizia*], it being now publicly said at Court that she has already received a verbal permission to marry; and further they hold that [the son of] the Earl of Hereford is infamed on the score of illegitimacy. This marriage, thus consummated, would stand in defiance of that ancient law of the

kingdom, which provides that no one of the blood-royal may marry, under pain of capital punishment, without the consent of the Sovereign. The Scottish agent, in acting as he now does, doubtless is urged thereto by certain persons here, being also sure of the approval of the King, his master.'

This Machiavellian policy of defaming any possible rival was eminently successful in the result. The 'ancient law' which Scaramelli refers to is doubtless the Act passed by Henry VIII. in 1536, when Lord Thomas Howard had ventured secretly to betroth himself to Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry, and who, by her subsequent marriage to the Earl of Lennox, became the grandmother of Lady Arabella. This Act (of which Miss Cooper gives an abstract) made any such marriage, without the license of the King in writing under his Great Seal, high treason.

On this same Thursday Scaramelli wrote a second despatch, describing at great length all that he could learn of the illness of the Queen, 'which continues to gain ground,' adding that Elizabeth 'sits brooding over the affair of the Lady 'Arabella, who now is, or feigns to be, half mad.' Events followed one another rapidly. The Queen died on the early morning of April 3 (O.S. March 24), and on that same day Scaramelli repeats the information that the council 'have 'put the Lady Arabella under safe custody—it being held 'that she, by her actions, has been the true cause of the 'death of the Queen.' On Monday, April 7 (O.S. March 28), after informing the Doge that 'King James the First of 'England and Sixth of Scotland' had been proclaimed on the 4th (the day after the death of the Queen), Scaramelli continues, 'the followers of the Lady Arabella, of the Earl 'of Hertford, and of the Earl of Huntingdon, not knowing 'to whom to turn, have all remained quiet. Not one of 'them, however, has been brought to set his signature to 'the Proclamation.' At the close of the despatch a paragraph is added, stating that 'yesterday and to-day news is 'come that the Earl of Hertford, who at first was nowhere 'to be found, has now appeared in the west country near 'the sea-coast, and is there making levies of foot and horse, 'with a view of proclaiming himself king, not only by 'reason of his own rights to the throne, but also on account 'of those of the Lady Arabella.' This piece of news, however, proved to be a false alarm; Hertford was far too cautious to risk his head for the sake of Arabella and her claims, and at the end of the week—on Saturday, April 12 (O.S. April 2)—Scaramelli writes as follows:

'It is now generally believed that the Earl of Hertford has throughout been acting at the instigation of France, and the Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty has been put to great travail therein. Of late, however, the authority and power of the majority in the country have crushed down all opposition, and rumours of tumult are no longer rife, it being even affirmed that the old Earl of Hertford, who is the father of the young pretender, though he be very lame, has promised to get himself carried up to London, in order to put his name and that of his son to the recent Proclamation, provided only they be both pardoned. Further, the Lady Arabella, now no longer mad, writes from her place of custody, in utmost humility, that she will have no other husband, no other state, and no other life than that which King James, her lord and cousin, shall graciously be pleased to grant her.'

Matters thus far, Scaramelli continues, are in a good way, and on the following Thursday week, April 24 (O.S. April 14), he reports: 'It is now said that the King wishes the Lady 'Arabella, as sole princess of the blood-royal, to attend 'the obsequies of the late Queen, and these are fixed for 'the second week of May.' But this intention was not carried into effect, for Arabella herself declined, and, in the words of her letter (quoted by Mrs. Murray-Smith), 'Sith 'her access to the Queen [in her lifetime] might not be per-'mitted, she would not, after her death, be brought upon 'the stage for a public spectacle.' However, the first cousin of the new monarch was now to enjoy high favour, and the Thursday despatch of May 1 (O.S. April 21) reports that 'the 'Lady Arabella has already been put at liberty, and is to 'set out with three hundred horse to join the King,' who at this date was halting at York to recover from the fatigue incidental to his journey South and to celebrate his Eastertide.

The funeral of Queen Elizabeth took place a fortnight later, and, Scaramelli writes, 'the King refused to attend, 'and would not even allow the Lady Arabella to be present.' The next mention of her name in the despatches is under date of May 28 (O.S. May 18), where, after describing his first interview with James at the Palace of Greenwich, the Venetian secretary somewhat scandalously continues:

'The Lady Arabella, a perfect virago of a woman, came last Sunday to visit the King, bringing in her train a number of Lords and Ladies. She was again most lovingly received [*accarezzata*] by his Majesty, and is now held in high favour—so much so, indeed, that at Court it is beginning to be said that should the Queen happen to die, this Arabella would forthwith be married to the King and crowned in her place.'

Queen Anne of Denmark, however, did not die, and was,

apparently, wise enough not to show jealousy of Arabella, whose favour at Court was still on the increase, although the King took occasion shortly after to complain of the manner in which the French Ambassador, when Elizabeth was on her death-bed, had sought to meddle in the business of Arabella and her claims to the crown. M. de Beaumont, thereupon, was full of excuses, and Scaramelli writes, on June 12 (O.S. June 2), that 'he goes about seeking to 'justify himself, and protesting that all he ever said in her 'behalf—to wit, at the time when Arabella was in trouble, 'and after the death of the Queen—was only what the duty 'of every good Catholic would be—namely, to protect and 'succour a lady.' The next mention of Arabella occurs more than two months later, for her name does not find place in the account of the coronation. Scaramelli begins his letter of August 20 (O.S. August 10) with this paragraph:

'The Lady Arabella has been summoned to Court and given her position, next to the Queen, as princess of the blood-royal. Rooms have been assigned to her and an allowance of diet, also precedence above all the other Ladies of the Court, and she has begun to carry the Queen's train when her Majesty goes to chapel. But at other times the Lady Arabella still lives in much retirement, and this naturally does not happen without some mystery being made over the matter.'

Nothing further concerning the doings of Arabella is to be found in the despatches of Secretary Scaramelli (who was superseded, in November 1603, on the arrival of the ambassadors-extraordinary, Duodo and Molin), unless it be for a paragraph giving some curious information, and incidentally mentioning her name, which occurs in one of his earlier letters—namely, that of May 28 preceding. This paragraph relates to the affairs of the Armada year, 1588, and makes a statement that is not, apparently, confirmed by other sources. To understand the allusion it must be borne in mind that Arabella, from her earliest childhood, had been the object of matrimonial alliances projected by persons interested in the succession to the English crown. Already, in the year 1586, she then being only eleven years old, the Catholic faction had proposed that she should marry Ranuccio, eldest son of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, the latter being at the time Governor of the Netherlands, in the name of Philip II. of Spain. The significance of the proposed marriage lay in the fact that Ranuccio was heir to the claims of his mother, Princess Mary of Portugal, who represented

the male line of Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; but, as far as we are aware, it has never been supposed that Elizabeth would have countenanced this scheme of giving a Catholic husband to the little girl, who, as has already been mentioned, was then living at Court in the capacity of a maid-of-honour, in high favour with the Queen, and ostentatiously put forward in rivalry to the claims of the King of Scots. However, at the end of May 1603, shortly after the peaceful entry of James into his English capital, Scaramelli writes to the Doge informing him that he has just come home from his first audience with the King at Greenwich, and not having been much impressed by the British Solomon, falls to praising the late Queen, whose superiority in matters of statecraft he illustrates by citing two instances. The first instance has reference to the clever manner in which Elizabeth notoriously kept the Duke of Alençon at her beck and call, as her suitor, so long as this would serve her purpose in the affairs of the Netherlands. The despatch then continues:—

'And the second instance is this, which is no less matter, for it is now plainly discovered that in the year 1588, during the very height of the Spanish enterprise against England, the Queen, without consulting anyone, despatched into Flanders Sir Robert Cecil, the little hunchback, then a private gentleman, but already a person of great understanding. He, voyaging thither with a letter written by the Queen herself for his credentials, went to propose secretly to the ear of Duke Alexander Farnese that Arabella should be given in marriage to Prince Ranuccio, and with her hand the right of succession to the English Crown. Now what was the fruit which came of this proposal all the world well knows.'

This last enigmatical phrase should presumably have reference to the failure of the Prince of Parma to join forces with the Duke of Medina Sidonia. It is well known that immediately after the Armada dropped anchor in Calais roads on August 6, 1588, Farnese sent a courier to the Duke, declaring that his army could not be collected for embarkation under a fortnight, that his barges were not manned ready for sea, and that the arms and stores were still lying on the quays of Dunkirk. Now the failure of the great enterprise was largely due to this miscarriage of the combined plan of invasion; and Scaramelli apparently accuses Parma of having had an understanding with Elizabeth—the matter is at least curious.

During the month of November, 1603, the two Venetian Ambassadors-Extraordinary, the Most Illustrious Pietro

Duodo and Nicolo Molin, sent by the Doge and Senate to compliment James on his accession, arrived in England; and on December 1 (O.S. November 21) they were received by James in audience. The Court was at this time at Salisbury, whence the despatch is dated. The two ambassadors, after briefly describing their reception, proceed to speak of the double plot, called the Main and the Bye, which had come to light just before the coronation, in the previous July, and in which Sir Walter Raleigh, with Lords Cobham and Grey, were among the chief persons implicated. They and their fellow-conspirators had recently been brought to trial at Winchester for high treason, and were condemned; the details of the plot are well known, but the part which Arabella was to have played in it will be best understood from the following passages from the Venetian despatch, and some of the details are, we believe, new to history:

'In the course of the trial of the conspirators it came out that their intention was to have compassed the life of the King, and to have made Arabella queen; further that they having sought to obtain the sum of 600,000 ducats to be divided among them, from [Count Aremberg] the ambassador of the Archduke Albert [of the Netherlands], he forthwith promised to give them 300,000, but undertook to obtain the other 300,000 after his return to Flanders. The Lord Cobham, also, who was the chief concoctor of the plot, wrote a letter at the end of this last August, directed to the Lady Arabella, in which he besought her to write, as of her own accord, to the King of Spain, giving him her promise that she would grant liberty of conscience throughout this kingdom, the like of what exists in Spain and Flanders, further adding that she would abandon the cause of the rebel States, and lastly would give her word not to marry anyone without the consent of his Catholic Majesty. But this letter from Lord Cobham, Arabella herself presented, unopened and with the seal unbroken, to King James, and it is to this act of caution that she now owes the security of her life, although it was deemed none the less incumbent on her to proceed to Winchester for the meeting of the judges, in order to justify her conduct, had there been any need. She was, however, entirely exculpated from all connivance in the plot by Walter Raleigh, one of those chiefly implicated therein, and this after that he had himself been convicted and sentenced to death. It is said that they designed to give her, for husband, the Duke of Savoy. All these machinations and intrigues have greatly disturbed the King, and in this matter, which is one of no inconsiderable importance, he cannot make up his mind whether to act with rigour would be for the best—allowing the sentence of the law to take its course—or to show royal clemency. The said Arabella likewise, although now proved innocent, and held in much honour by the Queen as a princess of blood-royal, is, by reason of these grave events, kept in a state of constant perturbation of mind.'

This extract from the despatch of the ambassadors Duodo and Molin is the only passage throughout their voluminous correspondence in which the name of Arabella Stuart occurs, since from this date onward, for the next six years, her uneventful life gave no reason for the envoys of the Republic to trouble themselves about her. These six years were without doubt the happiest epoch of the life of Arabella; the unimportant details of this time—how she lived at Court and took part in the masques and revels of Queen Anne, out-spending herself, petitioning for the grant of monopolies, and trying in vain to recover from King James the estates that had belonged to her father, the Earl of Lennox—all this will be found amply chronicled in the volumes of Mrs. Murray-Smith. In February, 1608, Arabella lost her grandmother, 'Bess of Hardwick,' the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, who had survived the Earl, her fourth husband, by eighteen years. One of her daughters, Mary Cavendish (aunt of Arabella Stuart), was wife of the eighth Earl of Shrewsbury, stepson of the Countess Dowager aforesaid; and it is important, in view of subsequent events, to remember that this Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, who was a Catholic, was the nearest blood-relation then living whom Arabella could count on, Mary being the sister of her dead mother, Elizabeth (Cavendish), Countess of Lennox.

About Christmas-time, of the year 1609, the Court was startled by the news that Lady Arabella Stuart had been put under restraint, and next brought before the Council. Her biographers are unable to explain the cause of this imprisonment. 'She fell suddenly and mysteriously into disgrace,' writes Mrs. Murray-Smith, 'why we can never exactly know, as the only allusions to the subject are some passages vaguely referring to it in contemporary letters. . . . That her arrest was connected with money matters is the simplest explanation.' Mrs. Murray-Smith has here been unable to add anything to the information supplied in the work of her predecessor, Miss Cooper. The Venetian Ambassador in England at this period was Marc Antonio Correr, and his account of the matter, when writing to the Doge, will probably be found to solve this small problem, since his information tallies with indications derived from other sources. As early as November 19 (O.S. November 9) Ambassador Correr states in his despatch:—'It is now reported that two of the 'principal ladies of this Court have been converted to the 'Catholic religion, the which gives cause for much comment;' and writing on January 8, 1610 (corresponding to December 29,

1609, O.S.) the ambassador adds the following information, writing in cypher:—

One of the two ladies, who, as I wrote to your Serenity on November 19 last, had, it was believed, become a Catholic, is the Lady Arabella, first cousin of the King. Further, during the last week his Majesty has received information that she was trying to escape over sea in company of a certain Scotchman called Douglas, with intent to marry abroad. For which cause the King sent the captain of his guard, and the Baroness, his wife, to fetch her away from the house of a certain lady of the Seymour family, bringing her, under pretext of a friendly visit, in their company to Cenua,* from whence they took her direct to the palace, where she has been kept under guard for some days past. The said Douglas also was arrested, and certain of the servants and waiting-women of the Lady Arabella, and they have put seals on all her property. At this present hour, however, she is at liberty again (though the others are not yet free), for, when brought before the Council, she spoke so as completely to satisfy his Majesty. For some time past the Lady Arabella has been living away from the Court in the house of one of her friends or relations, being in a state of great melancholy by reason of the little esteem with which she finds herself treated, and further because she cannot obtain her proper income, namely such as would befit her condition, being now involved in endless litigation in respect to the recovery of her paternal estates. In this last case she has been petitioning the King to grant her aid; and, as at former times, his Majesty has told her that such is his intention.'

The next weekly despatch, dated January 15 (O.S. January 5), contains the following, also in cypher, which relates the sequel of the story:—

'The Lady Arabella, as I wrote to your Serenity, is now no longer under arrest, but lives in her own rooms: she does not, however, go abroad, and only her relations can visit her. Douglas is also set at liberty, which proves that the affairs of this lady are considered as settled. One of her waiting-women, however, is still kept in prison, she, it is said, having answered too boldly when before the Council, declaring very resolutely and pointedly that their Lordships had no business to inquire into the secrets of her mistress, neither would she, for her part, discover these to them; adding that had she ever heard aught spoken of to the detriment of the service of the King, she would have left the house, but that it was no affair of hers to betray secrets. The replies which the Lady Arabella gave are, on the other hand, deemed very prudent and pertinent; she declined either to acknowledge or to deny that she had ever had any intention of leaving the kingdom; but since she asserted that everyone now treated her ill, it appears very probable that she had some thoughts of getting away.

* The decipher of this name is not clearly written; it may be 'Jenua.' What place is meant is matter of doubt. Also who was the 'Baronessa'?

Further, I have recently been told, that the case being as it is, the King will grant her the wherewithal to live in more easy circumstances.'

From the foregoing it appears evident that what caused Arabella to be arrested at Christmas-time 1609 was a report that she had already become a Catholic, and, further, was about to leave the country. In the early years of the seventeenth century it was a grave matter for a princess of the blood—who, after the children of the sovereign, was the heiress presumptive to the crown—to be accused of joining the Church of Rome, and entertaining a wish to flee the country in order to marry a foreign prince. The Catholics had four years before this almost succeeded in blowing up James and his Parliament with the Gunpowder Plot; and the King was keenly alive to the complications likely to ensue should a Roman Catholic pretender be forthcoming. That Arabella was not then becoming a Catholic, and indeed throughout her life apparently never wavered from the Protestant faith, naturally did not prevent public rumour from crediting her with the tendency towards Rome. The Queen was a Catholic, and, as already remarked, Arabella's nearest relation, her favourite aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, with whom she now constantly corresponded, was of the same faith. Further, the report mentioned by the Venetian Ambassador is confirmed in the 'Letters from Chamberlayne 'to Sir R. Winwood,' who writes, at this date, that Arabella, though set at liberty, is 'not altogether free from suspicion 'of being collapsed.' Mrs. Murray-Smith was apparently mystified by this last word; she confesses that 'the term '*collapsed* is very ambiguous.' But in the seventeenth century the expression 'collapsed' is habitually applied to those who have gone over to the Church of Rome, being the equivalent in the modern usage of 'perverted.'*

* See the 'New English Dictionary,' by Dr. Murray, s. v. *Collapsed*; where of the year 1609 is cited the pamphlet of Sir E. Hoby, 'To all Romish collapsed Ladies of Great Britaine,' besides other authorities. How persistent was the impression retained in the popular mind that Arabella had been 'collapsed' to Rome is proved by a verse in the curious ballad, composed long after her death, which Mrs. Murray-Smith has printed. (Vol. ii. p. 277.) In this one of the stanzas runs as follows:—

'"Lady Arabella," said our King,
"I to your freedom would consent
If you would turn and go to church,
There to receive the Sacrament."'

Lady Arabella, however, refuses to comply with the royal suggestion, and hence remains a prisoner in the Tower.

As yet, it will be noticed, there is no rumour of any marriage with William Seymour; six weeks later, however, in the despatch of the Ambassadors Francesco Contarini and Marc Antonio Correr dated February 25 (O.S. February 15) the following passage is met with:—

'The King, not wishing to drive the Lady Arabella to despair, has granted her 10,000 crowns to pay her debts, and so has fulfilled the promise given some time back. His Majesty, further, has much increased her annual pension, and in place of the former eight dishes of meat allowed her daily from the royal kitchen for her table, eighteen have now been accorded to her.* Much jealousy, however, has been stirred up by this, though she for her part expresses herself but little satisfied by what has been done. And, being a lady very high-spirited and audacious, the malcontents may possibly make use of her to suit their purposes, should occasion serve, in the furthering of some evil design. Hence, as it was lately rumoured that there was an intention of marrying her to one of the [grand]sons of the Earl of Hertford, who, like her, is of royal descent, the old Earl was himself summoned last Friday before the Lords of the Council, and interrogated on the affair. The Earl did not deny some knowledge of the same, but the King showed himself so highly displeased at there being even a question of the matter, that they now say the marriage will be stopped.'

A fortnight later the ambassadors add further details under date of March 9 (O.S. February 27):—

'The King, as we wrote in our former despatch, has been most anxious that† this project of a marriage between the Lady Arabella and the grandson of the Earl of Hertford should not go further, lest the rights and pretensions of these two families, who are of all others the nearest in blood to the royal house, should thus come to be united into a single claim. His Majesty, therefore, using much diligence, caused each of the incriminated parties to be examined separately, and

* From here the despatch is in cypher to the close of our quotation. In regard to the *scudo*, or crown, in which coin Scaramelli computes sums of money, it is known that this was reckoned at one ducat and a tenth. Now the ducat, as appears from the accounts for postage sent home by the Venetian ambassadors (see, for example, the despatches at the Archives under date of July 14 and December 23, 1610, *Inghilterra*, vol. ix.), varied with the exchange between 4*s.* 9*d.* and 4*s.* 10*d.* Hence in round numbers the *scudo* was equivalent to five shillings. The purchasing power of money, however, in the time of James I. was four or five times what it is at the present day; we may, therefore, count the *scudo* of that date as about the equivalent of the pound sterling of the present time.

† In cypher from here to the close of the extract.

then had the two brought together before him, Prince Henry of Wales and the Lords of the Council being also present. The King commanded them both to give up all project of matrimony, but the Lady Arabella answered at length, at first haughtily refusing, and, representing the unhappiness of her condition, once again bewailed how she could obtain none of the inheritance left by her father, which the King has granted away to others. She, however, handed back to this Seymour two rings which he had given her, and it being then required of her that she should crave pardon of the King, she replied that, seeing herself thus abandoned, she had never thought any evil would be imputed to her were she to provide herself with a husband of her own condition in life; however, if she had erred in this assumption, she was ready most humbly to ask pardon. The King, not satisfied with this, insisted that she should confess directly that she was in fault, and ask frankly for forgiveness. This she finally did, thereupon receiving anew promises of money, and leave also to marry, provided only that it should be with someone to the taste [*gusto*] of his Majesty.'

The account here given agrees fairly well with what the biographers of Arabella relate from other sources. The person now spoken of is William Seymour, the second son of Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of the old Earl of Hertford. William was therefore nephew of that Thomas Seymour whom (according to Scaramelli) Arabella had wished to marry in 1603. The lady had now attained the discreet age of thirty-five, William Seymour being still only in his twenty-second year. Arabella must have known Seymour from boyhood; he is represented as being a studious lad not given to the follies of masques, balls, and the 'everlasting hunting' in which Arabella complains that the Court is entirely immersed. He and Arabella had plighted troth on February 2 (O.S. 1610), according to his own subsequent confession; but on February 20, after having been brought before the Privy Council (as described in the despatch), his heart failed him, and he wrote a humble letter to their 'good Lordships' protesting that there was 'no promise of 'marriage,' and undertaking to abandon any such intention 'unless his Majesty's gracious favour and approbation 'might have been first gained therein.' Doubtless, William Seymour at first intended all he wrote, but the circumstances of the case were too strong for him. The lovers, thus duly admonished and having given their promise, were set at liberty; but four months later they contrived to be secretly married at Greenwich, on Friday, June 22 (O.S.), the exact date having only recently been recovered from the fly-leaf of an old account-book, where it had been recorded by one

of the witnesses to the ceremony.* The marriage was kept secret for rather more than a week. Early in July the King was told of it, and on the 8th of the month Seymour was committed to the Tower, while his wife remained a close prisoner in the house of Sir Thomas Parry at Lambeth. Ten days later, Ambassador Correr, in his despatch of July 28 (O.S. July 18), supplies the following details of what had taken place:—

'The Lady Arabella, some time ago, concluded her marriage with the second grandson of the Earl of Hertford, notwithstanding the injunction which the King had laid on her to abstain from so doing. The two were therefore brought before the Council. The youth, who was introduced first, denied the act; but the lady freely confessed to it, excusing the denial of her husband as prompted by fear, and striving to maintain that neither by laws human nor Divine could any impediment be raised thereto. The King, however, took what she had done very evilly, and she was sent away to be placed in the custody of a certain gentleman living just outside the Capital, while the husband has been taken prisoner to the Tower. The law which touches the present case is the one declaring guilty of high treason and rebellion any descendant of the blood-royal who shall marry any other such person without due licence; and this law was passed on the occasion of the secret marriage of the present Earl of Hertford, grandfather of the youth now in question, whose own father, indeed, was in consequence [of the Earl's imprisonment] born in the Tower. It is to prevent any like occurrence, they say, that the Lady Arabella has now been shut up in a place separate from her husband, and it is generally believed that she will not easily regain her liberty,† though if she were found to be with child she would, perhaps, be better treated, [the rigour now used] being with the hope thus to prevent any question as to the succession.'

In their respective prisons Arabella and her husband passed the remainder of the year 1610, the lady occupying her time in writing petitions to the King, the Queen, and the Lords of the Council. The fate of one of these is described by Ambassador Correr in his despatch of September 30 (O.S. September 20) of this year; the petition here spoken of is probably the one printed by Mrs. Murray-Smith‡ signed 'Arbella Seymaure;' in one of subsequent date the offence to which Correr alludes is avoided by the signature being simply 'Arbella S.,' since the initial might stand for either Seymour or Stuart, as the King chose to consider it. The following paragraph is in cypher throughout:—

* For the authorities see Mrs. Murray-Smith, vol. i. p. 252.

† This last phrase is in cypher.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 247.

'Since the King has come back from his progress, the Lady Arabella has managed to get the Lords of the Council to present to his Majesty a petition, composed and written with her own hand, begging for an increase of liberty. She met with some difficulty with the Council, but the Lords, after consultation, finally agreed to gratify her. The King, in the first place, took objection to the signature, in which she no longer named herself as of the house of Stuart, but wrote herself "Seymour," the name of the family of the husband, and this his Majesty resented. When he had read through the petition he desired the Earl of Salisbury to see her once again, who, after having done so, declared that he (Salisbury) was not ashamed to own that though what he had spoken was most pertinent, yet his speech was not to equal what the lady had answered; for he protested that even the whole Parliament would find difficulty in replying with effectual argument and eloquence to what she had advanced. The King enquired of him: "but were it well that one so near akin to the blood-royal should let her feelings entirely govern her?" adding that he would reserve his answer for the present and ponder on the matter. It is, however, now generally believed that before long her request for liberty will be granted, only it will always be difficult for her to obtain leave to see her husband—at any rate as long as she shall remain of an age to bear him children.'

Thus it was the fear of a child being born, whose claim to the crown would have united the rights of the Suffolk line with those of the next of kin in the Stuart house, that prompted James to strive completely to separate Arabella from her husband. The King could not dissolve the marriage; but he imagined that he could in the future prevent the birth of a pretender to the crown, and this is the only possible justification of the harshness with which James treated his cousin. Towards the end of the year 1610 Arabella, from Lambeth, carried on a secret correspondence with her husband in the Tower, and it seems probable that some clandestine interviews even took place. News of these dangerous proceedings reached James, and he determined to put a stop to any trifling with his orders. The royal intentions are clearly set forth in the first paragraph of a despatch written by Ambassador Correr on January 21 (O.S. January 11), 1611, and the text is in cypher:—

'Most Serene Prince,—When it began to be hoped that the Lady Arabella was about to experience the usual clemency of the King, suddenly, and in spite of the many reasons put forth in excuse of her marriage, and her own most humble petitions, orders have been sent down by the Lords of the Council, it being their will that within the term of twenty days she shall set out for Durham, a city lying some thirty miles from the Scottish border; and here she is in future to live in charge of the Bishop. It is also now generally said that the

King will later send her still further away, and that, by carrying her out of the kingdom, he makes sure that the malcontents shall not be able to base their hopes of rebellion on the use of her name. The husband also is now condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower, and much more strictly guarded than heretofore; and the knowledge of this has so affected the Lady Arabella that she has fallen into extreme affliction, whereby there are many in this city of London who heartily deplore her unhappy case.'

This journey into the North was delayed by the real or affected illness of Arabella; but on March 15 she was carried in her litter out of Lambeth, and reached Highgate in company of Dr. William James, Bishop of Durham, to whose 'care and custody' the King had confided his cousin by a royal letter written 'from Roystone, this 13th of March.' At Highgate Arabella became so seriously ill that her 'discomfortable journey' (as the poor lady phrased it) had perforce to be interrupted, and it was only by the end of March that Barnet was reached. Her state now was such that the King found himself forced to grant delay of a month for the restoration of her health, and the reverend Prelate, having urgent business in the North, left his charge, by the royal command, to the care of Sir James Croft, who hired a house at East Barnet for her accommodation. The month of respite having expired, Arabella was still apparently unfit to proceed, and her eloquent petitions to the King at length obtained leave for her to remain a second month at Barnet. This, however, was to be the limit of the royal patience, and it was settled that on June 5 she was to set out finally for Durham. Arabella, however, was not acting in good faith. While pretending to be ill and writing to give her promise to the King that she would 'undergo the journey after this time had expired without any resistance or refusal,' she was labouring to concert a plan of escape through the aid of her aunt, Lady Shrewsbury, who had agreed to provide money both for her niece and for Seymour to get free and take refuge on the Continent. The first part of this scheme was carried out successfully, and the news of the escape is communicated to the Doge and Senate in the following despatch of Ambassador Antonio Foscarini, dated June 15 (O.S. Wednesday, June 5), 1611, that is to say, on the day after the event became public:—

'This Seymour, whom the Lady Arabella chose to take for her husband without the consent of the King, and who, on this account, was imprisoned by his Majesty in the Tower of London, has made his escape thence the day before yesterday [Monday]; and also the lady

has got free—for, although it had been ordered that she must live under the custody of the Bishop of Durham on the Scottish border, yet, through the clemency of his Majesty, she had been allowed to stay on for a certain time, here in the neighbourhood of London. Nothing of this escape was known to the King before yesterday [Tuesday], but on his Majesty learning of it, the Council was forthwith assembled, and proclamations issued, which were printed that same day; further, one of these is enclosed, with its translation, in the present despatch. In this document it is stated that for diverse great and heinous offences these two persons were committed, the one to the Tower aforesaid, and the other to a special guard, from whence, by the wicked practices of diverse lewd persons, some of whom are mentioned by name, the two have found the means to escape, with an intent to transport themselves into foreign parts. After this follows the prohibition to all persons whomsoever to receive them, and the injunction for their apprehension and keeping in safe custody. Couriers have been despatched to various places, and to France in particular, for it would appear that the two met and embarked at some place not far from London, and forthwith quickly set sail. To-day [Wednesday] the King, after dining at Greenwich, where he has been staying, returned to London, and the Lords of the Council have spent the whole day with his Majesty in secret consultation. It is now generally affirmed that this flight must have been accomplished by the counsel and with the aid of some person of note; and it is believed that the Lady Arabella, who hitherto has professed the religion of the Puritans, will, together with her husband, find no difficulty in becoming Catholic, and thereby will the more easily obtain safety and secure protection abroad.'

In this letter, as stated, was enclosed the Proclamation, 'imprinted at London by Robert Barker, printer to the 'King's Most Excellent Maiestie,' and it is still preserved in the volume of despatches at Venice. It forms a single folio sheet, beautifully printed (of course, on one side only) with the text in black letter, the names of individuals, however (with the colophon of place and date), being in the Roman type, to call special attention thereto. The proclamation recites 'that the Lady Arbella and William Seymour, 'second sonne to the Lord Beauchampe,' managed to 'escape on Munday the third of June,' but as this petition will be found in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' it need not be given again here.

As is well known, the escape was not carried to a successful issue, and the following week Antonio Foscarini describes all that had occurred during the preceding days, ending with the news that Arabella had been retaken. The account appears sufficiently interesting to warrant the translation of his despatch in full; it agrees very exactly with what is known from other sources, but adds some new

details, more particularly in the matter of how Seymour effected his escape from the Tower.

'June 23rd [O.S. June 13th, Thursday], 1611.

'Most Serene Prince,—At the Council, which was in session at the time when I sent off my last despatch, and at which the King was present in person, it was resolved to arrest the Countess of Shrewsbury, who is proved to have been with Arabella on the Friday preceding the day of the flight, and to have afforded counsel and aid both to her niece and to Seymour. This order was carried into effect on the day following, and the Countess was forthwith arraigned, being commanded by the Lords of the Council to give answer without delay on the several points of grave accusation charged to her account. At the same time the Ambassador of France, to whom the Earl of Salisbury went and spoke with in person, was informed that his Majesty requested him to send couriers immediately over to Calais and other places on the coast of France, with a view that should Arabella and Seymour land in any such place, they might there be arrested:—and this the Ambassador did, sending off messengers express. That same day [Wednesday], after all the needful orders had been issued, and various persons thrown into prison,—as, for instance, the men of the Guard at the Tower where Seymour was confined, as well as many others, all of whom are to stand their trial—the King, having thus used all possible diligence in the matter, returned from London to Greenwich; when suddenly the Earl of Salisbury received news by express from Dover, stating that the Lady Arabella had been captured by a frigate of the Guard-ships about a league distant from Calais on board the self-same ship in which she had set sail. The Earl went off immediately to the King, and the news was heard with much content at Court, and very particularly by the Lords of the Council of State. For inasmuch as the King and Arabella are the children of two sisters [who are descendants] of Henry VII., and although she, Arabella, be the daughter of the younger sister and a female, it was none the less highly displeasing to them all that a Princess of the blood-royal, one so near a-kin to his Majesty, and one who after the royal children was without doubt the next in succession to the Crown, should thus flee into a foreign country, possibly affording pretext to some foreign prince, already nourishing designs against this country, of gratifying his evil intentions and effecting harm. It must further be explained that since Seymour also was related to the royal house, though in a more distant degree, their separate claims had been united by the marriage, and after a change of religion the two hoped, on declaring themselves Catholics, to obtain protection abroad; for it is currently said that they were to have gone straight to Rome in the first instance, and next possibly to Spain. However, all this project is now at an end. The lady for the present will remain well guarded in London, whither she was brought last Sunday evening, and the known clemency of his Majesty gives no room to fear anything worse for her than this, so long as nothing more heinous be discovered against her than what now appears—all of which may be set down to the effect of an extreme affection for the

man whom she chose as her husband. The ship in which the Lady Arabella tried to escape is a very small one, entirely unarmed, and belonging to a Frenchman, but what is of more moment is that on board the same they found a Courier from the French Ambassador with a packet of despatches addressed to the Most Christian King, and all the sailors were French. Arabella embarked on this ship Monday evening accompanied by three of her gentlemen, and one of her ladies; they then dropped down to the mouth of the Thames, where the vessel lay-to for some hours, the wind being contrary. Seymour, who was on board another ship some distance off, sent to know if his wife were there and to visit her. Then the weather having abated somewhat, the vessel which carried Arabella set sail for Calais, but when rather more than half way across she was hailed by a frigate of the English guardships, which only two hours before had received orders to overhaul and search all barks and other vessels. The guardship forthwith commanded the French vessel to lower her sail and come alongside, attempting to enforce obedience by several cannon-shot, but these having no effect the frigate despatched a boat with men in pursuit, for there was a calm, the wind having dropped; and shortly, about a league from Calais, the boat from the frigate came up to the vessel with Arabella on board, which though of light draught was now hardly moving in the water. In a moment the French ship was overpowered, for no resistance was offered either by the crew or by those who attended on the lady. So soon as Arabella found that all was lost, she gave a good portion of the money and other valuables that she had with her to various of those present, particularly to the Captain of the French ship, which forthwith was brought back to the mouth of the Thames, the Captain and the French Courier being put in strict confinement. The despatches for the King of France from his ambassador were shortly after this returned to the latter, but without the cover, being brought him back by the same Courier, who it appears when he was first seized and had the despatches taken from him, was questioned by his captors, "as to what he was doing there?"—"why, seeing he had been sent off by his ambassador four days previously, he had so long delayed his journey?"- and "wherefore he had embarked in this very ship?"

'Further the French Ambassador sent [one of his secretaries] to me the day before yesterday morning to acquaint me with various of the particulars, which I have written above concerning these late events, informing me also that both the Captain of the vessel and the Courier having been sent ashore on the river-bank by the officers of the King, the two had of their own accord come to London and to him, on which occasion the Courier had handed him back the despatches. These two men the Council, later on, had again wished to seize and imprison, but the ambassador protested that they were in no wise culpable, for the Lady Arabella had come on board the vessel without letting it be known who she was, and he further maintains that, even if these men should have had any knowledge of her identity, it was for him or for the French King his master to punish them, and in no wise the business of his British

Majesty, or of the English Justices. The French Secretary who came and communicated all this to me further added, that his ambassador had immediately been to express his regrets to the Earl of Salisbury, and it was also his intention to speak with the King, of whom he had requested an audience, in order to lay an exculpation before his Majesty; and this audience was granted him for to-day. Further he let me know that it was his wish himself to visit me to-morrow in order to advise with me in this same matter, and in conclusion he requested of me to let him know without delay my opinion on the form in which he proposed to lay his arguments before the King. Hereupon I answered the French Secretary that I should ever remain deeply obliged to his master the ambassador, for the honour he thus did me, but that it was impossible to add anything further to the arguments thus ably stated by one so prudent in counsel as was his Excellency aforesaid:—then leaving this matter I passed on to talk of other things.

'It is believed that those who accompanied Arabella in her flight may have to pay the penalty of their act with their lives; and from the examination of the prisoners already in the jail it has been made manifest how it was that she effected her escape from the place, ten miles distant from London, where she was kept in custody. This was very easily arranged, for she was left under the charge of a gentleman who, it may be said, was only nominally her warder, and as for some days past she had pretended to be ill, she was only seen by the physician sent for (he being the person who ordinarily attended her), and this physician also under pretext of the illness of one of her relations with whom she had preconcerted the matter, Arabella succeeded in getting away to his London house. Then, leaving behind her the waiting-woman who usually served her, and who on the night of her flight regaled the guard at the house-gate with the dishes from her mistress's table, Arabella went out through the surrounding gardens, being in man's clothes, and, getting on horseback, rode, it is said, in less than an hour the thirteen miles down to the place of embarkation. She is now being frequently examined in order to get to the bottom of the affair, and find out if there be collusion with any foreign prince, also concerning other like questions.

'As to Seymour, all that is yet known is that he has landed at Ostend. He escaped from the Tower by the assistance of his barber. This man, presenting himself at the Tower completely disguised in a false beard and with his leg bandaged, inquired of the servants there for the barber—that is, for himself. He was answered, That the barber was within; and thereupon entered and proceeded to disguise Seymour in the clothes he himself had on, after which Seymour and he boldly sallied forth, the guard putting no impediment in their way, supposing that the companion was the man who had just gone in, while they did not stop the barber, knowing him for a person who was wont to be seen going in and out almost daily. People are very curious here to learn how Seymour will fare in Flanders, and how the Archduke will receive him; further, what route he will take, whether he will change his religion or not, and, more than all else, whether, indeed, he will find any country to give him protection, for they say

that previous to arranging his escape he must have come to an understanding in this matter with some foreign prince.'

The usual account of the escape of Seymour from the Tower relates that he slipped past the guard at the main gate, walking behind a cart filled with faggots. That it was his barber who procured him the disguise, as the Venetian Ambassador writes, obtains corroboration from the fact that in the list of those put under arrest, by order of the Council, on June 4 and 5, figures the name of 'Batten, 'Mr. Seymour's barber, committed to the dungeon in the 'Tower, by Mr. Lieutenant.'

Ambassador Foscarini, in the following week, under date of July 1 (O.S. June 21), adds these further items of news. The French Ambassador having obtained his audience with James, had produced the answer from Calais to his express, the French governor of that port promising to arrest Arabella should she fall into his hands; meanwhile, the French authorities were stopping all passengers. King James had been very civil in his reply to the French Ambassador; the Captain of the French vessel had been set at liberty, nothing more having been said about the captured despatches; and after leaving the audience chamber, the French Ambassador had been sent for by the Queen, who had treated him most honourably. Further, Foscarini adds that on the previous Saturday (June 25, O.S. June 15), the Countess of Shrewsbury had been committed to the Tower for supplying her niece Arabella with money, and it was feared that throughout she had been acting in concert with the Catholics, with whom she was in intelligence. Meanwhile, the English agent [Trumbul] at Brussels had written to report that the Archduke had protested under no circumstances would he have aided Arabella to escape, but would have done everything to please King James. The despatch closes with the remark:—'Meanwhile, they continue to cross-examine Arabella, who 'remains in the Tower, and if no conspiracy be brought to 'light, it is certain that she will not be ill dealt with, 'though, of necessity, she must be guarded in future more 'strictly, in order to prevent her escaping anew.'

On July 7 (O.S. June 27) Foscarini saw James for the first time since the recent stirring events. The following extracts from the despatch seem worth translating, as giving the contemporary view of the matter, and showing how the King considered the question. It cannot be denied that James at this time acted heartlessly towards his cousin, but on the other hand, in the year 1611, a royal princess was

not supposed to follow the dictates of her heart only in the choice of her husband. Many eligible matches had been proposed to Arabella, which she had time and again refused. She then married secretly the one man whose claims to the succession, when united to hers, made the alliance a menace to James. 'She had eaten of the forbidden tree,' as James is reported by Lady Drummond to have answered when the Queen interceded with him in this matter, and Arabella had to submit to the consequences of her rash act, and repent at leisure. Foscarini's despatch runs as follows:—

'The day before yesterday I had my audience with the King. . . . [After the usual compliments] his Majesty began to talk to me about the Lady Arabella and her flight: he stated that it had been his intention to have bestowed her in marriage according to her rank: that he knew exactly what would have suited her. Proceeding, he hinted that worse might still be hidden from view, adding, however, that he did not lay any great stress on the matter. Going on to speak of Seymour, the King informed me that the Archduke, in replying to his request that Seymour might be arrested, had answered that he, the Archduke, would not fail to prove to the King and to the whole world how great was his desire to serve his Majesty, but beyond this had given no promise; further, the King appeared to believe that by this present time the Archduke must already have forced Seymour to quit the Netherlands. The King did not appear at all satisfied on this point, and he next commanded me to urge on Your Excellencies that if the said Seymour appeared in the Venetian territory, he must be held in durance until his Majesty should be communicated with. The King did not seem to doubt but that this favour would be accorded him, adding that he knew well Your Excellencies would never wish the territory of the Republic to become an asylum and a point of passage to harbour or to forward people of this kind; for such courtesies were often used by princes towards each other, one State seizing and sending back to an ally fugitive outlaws guilty of misdemeanors, which yet were in no wise treasonable to their own king or prince; and his Majesty concluded by remarking that whosoever was prompt to declare himself a friend and give aid in moment of peril might be sure of a like favour at his own time of need.

'To this I answered that be the matter in request how great soever, Your Excellence would certainly order it forthwith to be so executed as to gratify his Majesty . . . and continuing in similar language . . . I gave a general promise, but without entering into particulars. The King listened to my speech with much content, and, seeming well assured that Seymour would seek refuge in some foreign country, he greatly holds to the proofs of friendship and sincere alliance which Your Serenity has ever manifested towards him. The King is more disquieted by this escape of Seymour than he shows either in speech or manner, and it is commonly believed that the said Seymour will

ultimately find refuge either in the Pontifical States or in those of the Catholic King. . . . This morning I went to visit the Earl of Salisbury, who very confidentially talked over the same affair with me, substantially speaking in the same terms as the King, though more succinctly; but adding, in reference to Seymour, that he was a bastard, and in a few words explained to me the reasons for this assertion. He seemed to be in no doubt that, should Seymour appear in the Venetian territory, Your Excellencies would cause him to be arrested.'

In conclusion, Foscarini writes, Salisbury had told him that an order was already sent to the English envoy at Venice to present this request officially from the King to the Doge, and he begged the ambassador, with much earnestness, to urge the matter in his despatches. Foscarini adds that he answered Salisbury in the terms he had used to the King, and then forthwith took his leave of the Treasurer.

What remains to be told of the story of the unfortunate Arabella and her husband does not occupy much space in the later despatches. The danger of a plot, if any there were, was past. Under date of July 14 (O.S. July 4), the ambassador writes:—'The Lady Arabella and the Countess 'of Shrewsbury still remain in close confinement in the 'Tower, and their examination continues, in hopes of dis-'covering the origin of the whole affair, which, from what is 'now reported, appears to have had many ramifications.' In the next despatch, that of July 21 (O.S. July 11), it is reported that the Earl of Shrewsbury had been petitioning the King for the release of his Countess, but in vain, having only been answered by threats; and many months later, on December 9 of the same year, the Doge is informed that 'the Countess of Shrewsbury continues as 'before,' in the Tower, where, indeed, for some years to come, she remained a close prisoner.

William Seymour never saw his wife again. He left the Netherlands, unmolested by the Archduke, and travelled to Paris, where he subsequently resided on an allowance of 400*l.* a year, sent to him by his grandfather, the old Earl of Hertford. Arabella, after remaining a prisoner during four years in the Tower, died, it has always been said, of a broken heart, and out of her mind. From evidence which Mrs. Murray-Smith is able to bring forward from the contemporary accounts, it does not appear that Arabella was ill-treated, everything but her liberty having been granted to her. Her latest biographer does not give credence to the story that she went mad at the close of her life; indeed,

the only direct evidence which appears to be forthcoming in support of this assertion is a passage in a letter of Chamberlayne, dated March 11, 1613,* who writes that Arabella has 'been dangerously sick of convulsions, and is 'now said to be distracted.' We have searched through all the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador, from the year 1611 to 1615, and can find no mention or allusion whatever to Arabella having become mad during this period, and the ambassador would assuredly have reported it in his weekly letter had any such rumour reached him. From the month of July 1611, the name of the unfortunate lady does not occur again in the despatches, until, writing under date of October 9 (O.S. September 29), Foscarini announces her death:—

'The night of Wednesday, a little before daybreak,† the Lady Arabella Stuart died suddenly in the Tower, and without leaving any will; thus the poor Lady at one and the same time has found an end of her troubles and of her life. Her body was yesterday borne to the grave, being followed by more than sixty coaches. Shortly before her death the Countess of Shrewsbury was allowed to see her, but she found her voiceless and almost entirely senseless, being very nigh to death.'

The fact that over sixty coaches followed the funeral to Westminster Abbey shows that Arabella can hardly have been laid to her rest 'at dead of night . . . without any 'ceremony save the hurried reading of the burial service,' as Mrs. Murray-Smith has stated.

* Quoted by Miss Cooper, vol. ii. p. 298.

† The Italian runs, 'Mercordi notte poco inanzi 'l giorno,' which may be ambiguous, though good authorities agree that it almost certainly refers to the dawn of Thursday. But throughout the East the night of a day is its eve, and at the present day, in Venetian dialect, 'sta notte' means '*last* night.' Hence the above might mean Wednesday morning. The date of the despatch (the 9th) is a Friday, and it states that the funeral took place 'hieri'—that is, Thursday, October 8 (N.S.), or September 28 (O.S.). Miss Cooper ('Life,' vol. ii. p. 245) gives September 25 (that is, Monday) as the day of the decease, and (*idem.* vol. ii. p. 299), quoting from the Register of Burials in Westminster Abbey, gives the 27th (Wednesday) as the day of the funeral. Mrs. Murray-Smith ('Arabella Stuart,' vol. ii. pp. 51 and 72), following her predecessor, mentions twice over the 25th as the day on which Arabella died, but quotes her authority as stating that this was a 'Tuesday night,' the 25th being really a Monday. The matter is of very small importance, since nothing depends on it, but it is curious that the contemporary Venetian despatch, instead of settling the question, rather adds to the imbroglio.

One more extract from the despatches remains to be added, dated the following week, October 16 (O.S. October 6), and it certainly may be quoted as an argument against the usual assertion of Arabella having been mad at the time of her death, that she is here spoken of as dying 'in a certain way 'contumacious.' This term surely would not have been applicable to a person bereft of reason.* The despatch is signed by the two ambassadors—Antonio Foscarini, Kt., and Gregorio Barbarigo—and the paragraph in question runs as follows:—

'I, Foscarini, wrote last week that the Lady Arabella was dead, and seeing she was so nearly related to the King, and so much spoken of, we think it well here to add that the Council have already met and deliberated whether, as the Queen desired it, their Majesties should put on mourning; further, where the Lady should be buried. It was resolved that since she had, in a certain way, died contumacious, the Court should not go into mourning; but as to the place of her burial, that might be where her relations best liked it. Hence she has been buried in the same grave where her grandmother lies, among the royal tombs, and near the resting place of Prince Henry. Her death, which was almost instantaneous, accompanied by a sudden tremor and loss of power in the lower limbs, has been much regretted by many of the chief persons here, but the King has said nothing on this subject, though his Majesty is become heir of such small property as she has left.'

After the death of Arabella, William Seymour was at last allowed to return to England. By the death of his elder brother in 1618, preceded by that of their father in 1612, William Seymour became Lord Beauchamp, and, in 1621, succeeded his grandfather in the earldom of Hertford. He was created marquis by Charles I. in 1640, and being governor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., was a notable figure on the Royalist side during the Civil

* As a specimen of how rumour was ever busy with the fate of Arabella, it may be mentioned that she was popularly supposed to have borne a child in the Tower. The imputation, however, cannot be supported by any contemporary evidence. Further, James was credited with having poisoned her, as appears from the debate in Parliament a century and a half after her death, for in describing the passage of the Royal Marriage Bill in March 1772, Horace Walpole ('Journal of the Reign of George III.,' vol. i. p. 71) writes:—'On the 24th the Bill was reported to the House, and opposed with vehemence by T. Townshend. The Lady Arabella Stuart, he said, was poisoned in the reign of James I. He wondered why the precedent had not been put into the preamble: it would have made as good a figure there as prerogative.'

Wars. At the Restoration, the attainder passed on the Protector Somerset was reversed, and his great-grandson, William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford, became the second Duke of Somerset, enjoying this honour, however, for a month only before death overtook him in October 1660. Some years after the death of Lady Arabella, William Seymour had married again, and a grandson by the second marriage afterwards succeeded to the dukedom; but that his first wife was not entirely forgotten appears to be indicated by the fact that of his daughters one received the name of Arabella, in memory of the wife of his youth.

ART. XI.—1. *Parliamentary Debates.* Session 1896.

2. *Speech of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone at Liverpool.* 'Times,' September 25, 1896.

3. *Letter from the Earl of Rosebery to Mr. T. E. Ellis, M.P.* 'Times,' October 8, 1896.

THE lot of Lord Salisbury's third Administration has been cast in times of difficulty and danger. In almost every quarter of the globe troubles have arisen sufficient to try the quality of British statesmanship. Indeed, from month to month, sometimes even from day to day, events have succeeded each other with such rapidity that almost before the public could make itself acquainted with the facts affecting one difficulty, it found itself plunged into another of even more pressing interest. Already half a dozen questions have arisen and have stirred public feeling, any one of which, if handled in an undecided or blundering fashion, would have been productive of much mischief and even danger to the State. With the present division of parties, and with an unprecedentedly large majority supporting the Government, it is true that failures and blunders would probably not immediately entail the fall of an unsuccessful Administration, but they would at once destroy its authority with the public. Whatever might happen in the House of Commons, the people would not be long in withdrawing their confidence from a Ministry that had failed. With the change in opinion would come the growing doubt whether any longer the Ministry represented the feeling of the country. Opposition statesmen would find themselves listened to for their advice and looked to for their leadership even by people outside the limits of the regular party caucus, and power would begin to drift towards them long before the all-powerful ministerial majority in the House of Commons was seriously shaken.

Our readers doubtless can call to mind several occasions in the history of modern Governments when Oppositions, miserably weak in numbers, have first begun, partly through ministerial mismanagement, partly through their own vigour or steadfastness, to rally to themselves the support of a growing public opinion; and how opinion, at first wavering and uncertain, has become at length consolidated, either round some principle of action adverse to the ministerial policy or in the recognition of some statesman or group of statesmen in Opposition as the true exponents of the popular sentiment and will.

It may perhaps be worth while inquiring whether the Ministry which came into power in June 1895, primarily in order to overthrow the projects of domestic legislation of the preceding Administration, remains in October 1896 a true exponent of British opinion and sentiment; or whether, on the other hand, Opposition criticism is becoming something more than mere ex-official criticism, and is hardening into a definite policy likely to rival in popular favour the policy of the Ministry as regards either the external or internal affairs of the nation.

For the last month 'an agitation' has swept Great Britain from Land's End to John o' Groats, and for the time all popular interest in politics is centred in the Eastern Question, or, perhaps, it should be said in the one aspect of that question which concerns the barbarous and atrocious treatment by the Sultan of his Armenian subjects. We cannot, however, in a review of the political situation confine our gaze solely to the events of the passing hour. Moreover, as yet the agitation has been productive of no rival policy, though it has demonstrated the detestation with which the British people regard the Sultan and his rule, and the keen desire to assist by every means in their power the unhappy Armenians. It is necessary to stand back a little from the occurrences of the moment if we would see the political situation in true perspective.

The trite saying that 'in politics it is always the unexpected that happens' has certainly received confirmation in the events of the last twelve months. A year ago, still less a year and a half ago, when the vital question of Home Rule was undecided, who could have predicted that in the year 1896 the minds of Englishmen were to be chiefly occupied with affairs in South Africa, a difference with the United States as to the delimitation of the British frontier with Venezuela, a revolution in Crete, the possibly imminent collapse of Turkish authority in Constantinople itself, and the advance of an Anglo-Egyptian army into the Soudan? Who could have foretold, after all the legislative promising inevitable at a general election, that the principal measure of the first working session of the Unionist Government would be a proposal to recast fundamentally the educational arrangements of the Act of 1870?

It is the unexpectedness of the situation that tries majorities and men. How have our statesmen acquitted themselves? How has the great Unionist majority that rewarded the patriotic exertions of the people in July of last year stood the test? Let us glance for a moment at the

political situation of only a few months ago. On June 21, 1895, a small majority of the House of Commons in a thin house declared that the quantity of cartridges kept in stock by the War Department was insufficient to meet the possible exigencies of the country. This division, on a subject which excited no public attention, put an end to the Home Rule Administration, which ever since the defeat of its Home Rule policy in the House of Lords in 1893 had, in fact, been tottering to its fall. Three days later Lord Salisbury had formed a Unionist Cabinet, in which for the first time Liberal and Conservative statesmen sat side by side. Then began the experiment of once more frankly founding party arrangements upon the principles which really divided the opinions of men on the great question of the day, rather than with reference to the party names, party whims, and party badges of the past.

The general election, which in a few weeks followed the momentous division of June 21, testified in the most unmistakeable manner to the approval with which the country witnessed the co-operation in the Cabinet of the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist leaders. The nation, after nine years of political strife, had given an overwhelming vote against Home Rule; a policy which apparently it liked none the better when it appeared that Home Rule would have to be brought about by the previous annihilation of the legislative authority of the House of Lords. Neither Home Rule, nor the Abolition of the House of Lords, nor the Disestablishment and Disendowment of Churches, nor Sir William Harcourt's Liquor Bill, nor the Payment of Salaries to Members of Parliament appeared to elicit any great amount of popular enthusiasm amongst the generality of men, whilst their combination in a great party-programme provoked a feeling almost approaching to popular disgust.

The result, therefore, of the Unionist coalition and of the general election was to place in power a Ministry containing an unusual amount of statesmanlike ability, and to give it the support of an almost unprecedentedly large majority in the House of Commons. For the Unionist cause all the omens were favourable. If these men, backed by the hearty support of both branches of the Legislature, and with public opinion, as evidenced by the general election, strongly in their favour, could not govern the country to the general satisfaction; under what circumstances and by whom could the country be satisfactorily governed? This was the question which Unionists generally were asking themselves a year ago.

Yet, rightly or wrongly, at the prorogation last August it was the Opposition, small though its minority in Parliament might be, which rejoiced over the history of the past session, rather than the great battalions who supported the Government. Whether there was any real justification for this feeling of elation on one side of the House of Commons and of disappointment on the other is another matter, and so is the question whether these sentiments extend beyond parliamentary and political circles, and affect materially the political leanings of the electorate. Ordinary party men, on the one side and the other, probably hold, and certainly always profess, on such questions the belief most agreeable to themselves. But there are of course, in the absence of a long series of bye-elections, no sufficient data upon which anything deserving the name of a sound opinion as to a change in the sentiment of the electorate can be founded It is more useful to try to ascertain the cause of the professed elation of the Opposition and of the scarcely veiled disappointment of many of the supporters of the Government than to speculate on the result of an immediate general election which everyone knows is not going to take place.

The Unionists did not owe their victory to the popularity attaching to any definite legislative programme advanced by their leaders. The Ministry came back from the country pledged to govern it as a single nation through the Parliament of the United Kingdom, undertaking moreover to turn the legislative energies of the House of Commons towards the practical improvement of our existing institutions, and towards measures beneficial to the condition of the people, rather than towards sweeping measures of constitutional change. Sometimes in our history a majority has been returned almost solely with a view to forwarding some great legislative measure, the principle of which has been approved by the electorate. In the last election no such 'mandate' as this was imposed upon Parliament. The newly formed Ministry was sent back to Westminster with the largest majority of modern times at its back, in order to govern the country upon certain definite principles, to guide the nation with a steady hand in its foreign relations, and to forward domestic legislation of a businesslike rather than a showy character. Again, there have been general elections of which the decisive result has been due to the evident desire of a great majority of the country to be governed by some particular statesman, whose personal popularity has far outweighed with the electorate any purely

political considerations. At the last general election there was no single name on either side of overwhelming popular power. In Great Britain and in Ireland there is indeed at the present time little sign of that 'one-man power' which we are told that democracy generally promotes. The victorious Unionists looked to a group of statesmen whose co-operation was essential to success. The Opposition have hardly yet decided upon whom the mantle of Mr. Gladstone is to fall, and Irish party politics have resumed their resemblance to the *mêlée* of a faction fight.

But to whatever causes a large majority is due, the high party hopes to which it gives rise are rarely or never quite realised. The name of the 'Eighty' Club bears melancholy witness to the enthusiasm with which young Liberal politicians in 1880 welcomed Mr. Gladstone's great majority of sixteen years ago, as the beginning of a new period of prosperity for their principles and their party. Yet before the new House of Commons of that year had been many months in existence, the Government had been repeatedly defeated upon the Bradlaugh question, the House of Lords had rejected one of the principal measures of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, and those difficulties were already in sight which were before long to cause the resignation of several of its ablest members. In 1886 the Conservative Government had, properly speaking, no party majority at all, its continuance depending upon the steadiness of the then untried Unionist alliance; and many experienced men not unnaturally prophesied that no Ministry could survive for many months with a House of Commons in such an anomalous condition. Thus Lord Salisbury's administration of 1886 began with little expectation of winning political triumphs, and indeed with very indifferent prospects of long maintaining its position. Yet that Government remained in power for six years, and, in the administrative work it accomplished and the legislation it passed, it may challenge comparison with any ministry of this generation.

It is the constant effect of the keenness of parliamentary debate and the rivalry of parties to give exaggerated importance to passing incidents. A trifling blunder of a minister, or some trivial administrative success, or the fact that a majority is a little larger or smaller than ordinary, is hailed by the one side or the other as being of the utmost moment to the country. There is a lack of all sense of proportion in the nightly party conflicts of the House of Commons; and it is, of course, the object of parliamentary

reporters, and of newspapers catering for readers, to make as interesting and pungent as possible their description of parliamentary incidents. We all like to read of the debating triumphs of our own protagonists, and of the nightly rout of our foes. And to the local party politician these things are the very breath of his existence. Newspapers respond to the demands of the public, and the incidents, scenes, all-night sittings, and gossip of the Lobby are retailed with a graphic power and an exaggeration of their significance which for the moment make men forget how very little in most cases it all comes to! When the lapse of time has removed us a little distance from these temporary excitements, it becomes more possible to estimate the result of a session—to survey the field of battle as a whole, apart from the incidents of every skirmish. Nothing is easier than to count the Bills passed, and to compare them with the Bills promised; to compare the number of pages of Statutes 59 & 60 Victoria with the number of pages of some bulky volume of earlier years; but to judge how the session has affected the party position in the House of Commons and in the country, how far it has added to or taken from the reputation of this or that statesman, how far it has affected the influence of this or that parliamentary group, how far its progress has promoted or checked the growth of particular political principles, is a much more difficult matter.

It must be said, however, that political interest has during the last year centred far less than usual in the proceedings of Parliament. The Budget, involving no very important changes, and the vigorous measures taken for increasing the strength of the fleet and the defences of the Empire met with almost universal approval; and the explicit language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Budget speech, declaring the steadfast determination of the Ministry to refuse to listen to any projects for changing the basis of our currency system, brought comfort to those who dreaded that the bimetallic leanings of certain members of the Cabinet were more than the mere 'pious opinions' of eminent individuals. The Rating Bill was, it is true, vigorously contested by the Opposition; but it was very naturally popular in agricultural districts. It was not, and did not pretend to be, a great measure. No one supposed that it would remove the distress from which agriculture is suffering. But to the general public it seemed only reasonable, since this distressed interest was bearing a far larger share of local

burdens than would equitably fall upon it, that, pending a proper redistribution of local taxation between the different classes of property, provision should be made for diminishing this excessive burden, by a subsidy out of the general resources of the country. The Irish Land Bill, the greater part of the provisions of which were necessitated by the lapse of the fifteen-year terms—those quasi-leases, as Mr. Gladstone termed them—of the Land Act of 1881, and the inclusion within the operation of the Act of various exempted classes of holding, provoked vigorous opposition in the House of Lords, where the Government, though supported by the principal statesmen of the Opposition, suffered several defeats. The Bill conformed very much to the expectations raised by previous speeches of Ministers; but the Irish landlord party bitterly opposed, in the House of Commons, some of its provisions, and in the Upper House that party, aided by the sympathy and votes of English Peers, prevailed against both Front Benches. The one-sided character of the debates of the House of Lords on landlord and tenant questions is greatly to be regretted. The prejudices—nay, the interests—of the tenants as against those of landlords find no independent expression in that assembly. It was difficult to convince the public that a measure which seemed just and expedient to men like the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Ashbourne, well acquainted, if ever men were, with Irish land questions—a measure which had been pressed through the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour and his brother (the Irish Secretary) as urgently required in Ireland—was in truth one more forward step in the policy of landlord plunder. The Government, as it was bound to do, adhered to its own view, and on the essential points of controversy the House of Lords ultimately yielded.

So far the parliamentary policy of the Government was such as had been anticipated; and, on the whole, it had undoubtedly met with public approval. The country, on the other hand, was completely taken by surprise by the proposal of the Ministry to overhaul from top to bottom the educational arrangements of Mr. Forster's Act of 1870. A great deal had doubtless been said at the general election in criticism of Mr. Acland's rule at the Education Department. It was felt that his policy was one of hostility to the Voluntary schools, and that demands were being made upon them with the deliberate intention of making their continuance impossible, or very difficult, and so to promote

the universal establishment of School Boards. Whether this belief was entirely justified may be a question. There can be no doubt that it was largely held; and, accordingly, very many candidates were returned pledged to see that some assistance was rendered to the Voluntary schools. Under Mr. Forster's Act our educational system was intended to embrace both Board and Voluntary schools, and assuredly the country was not prepared to tolerate indirect attempts to drive the latter out of existence. The proposals, however, of the Ministry went far beyond satisfying the very moderate expectations of the country in its desire to check the bellicose policy of Mr. Acland. A great scheme of delegation to local authorities of the powers now centralised in the Education Department in London, a very substantial grant in aid of the Voluntary schools, provisions for the permission of denominational religious teaching by voluntary agencies in the public school buildings, the raising of the school age from eleven to twelve years, and the vesting in the new local authorities of power to deal with secondary education and with technical instruction, as well as with the elementary schools, were the main features of the Government plan. The scheme, in truth, contemplated a reform in our local government system no less than in our educational arrangements. It was the first attempt to reduce, by means of consolidation of powers, the multiplicity of local authorities and boards—to diminish their number, and thereby to increase the responsibilities of each. With the increased importance of the work to be done would come a rise in the quality of the men chosen to do it. The frequency of local elections, and the dispersion of local powers amongst so many functionaries, tend to increase public indifference. Let education ultimately be regarded as a branch of local government, and education and local government will both benefit by the change. Mr. Balfour in this regard held up the example of Germany, where primary education is the best in the world, and where it is administered under the municipal system, and not under a system carried out by bodies elected *ad hoc*.

A great deal is to be said for the main principles underlying the Government measure; but the subject had not been discussed by the public, opinion had not ripened or become definite, some were interested solely in one feature, others solely in some other feature of the proposal, so that before the Bill had been many weeks in print confusion

reigned in party counsels. Though the second reading was passed by the unexampled majority of 267, it soon became apparent that, if the details of the measure were to be properly discussed, there would be no time available for other legislative business. Mr. Asquith, as the spokesman of his party, had moved the rejection of the Bill, strongly condemning the transference of authority from the central department in London to local authorities. The vehemence with which he took the departmental view, that upon the London office depended the progress and success of our educational system in its struggle with parochial and rural inertness, was surprising coming from one who looks at 'decentralisation' as the principle upon which our political constitution is to be reconstructed. At the Home Office a small experiment had been tried in delegating to the local authorities the inspection of workshops in matters of sanitation; but the ex-Home Secretary had found it was impossible to trust even so small a duty as this to local bodies. The work was, he said, habitually neglected. It would be little less than madness for the central department to delegate important powers to local educational authorities. This, of course, is the usual language of a departmental official. A wider experience would have told Mr. Asquith of cases where the hindrance to local educational progress was central red-tapeism and the want of support given by the London department to local energy and zeal.

On other branches of his subject Mr. Asquith stood on firmer ground. Three-fourths of the expenditure on Voluntary schools comes from the State, yet their management was in private hands. The Bill contained no provision to remedy this defect. The proposal to depart from the Cowper-Temple compromise was, he declared, an attempt still further to denominationalise the school system of the country, and he quoted high dignitaries of the Church to the effect that what was wanting in the religious instruction given in the Board schools could well be supplied elsewhere. 'There 'was no evidence that the parents of the children for whom 'this religious instruction was provided were dissatisfied. 'The agitation was a clerical agitation, carried on for the 'most part by the extreme members of the clergy and by a 'body of laymen more clerically minded than the clergy 'themselves.'*

To this portion of Opposition criticism Mr. Balfour's

* Mr. Asquith, Parliamentary Debates, May 5, 1896.

reply was not altogether reassuring; though his retort upon the Scottish members who denounced denominationalism was effective – viz. that in every Board school in their constituencies and in every parish in Scotland the Shorter Catechism was taught, a 'formulary' far more elaborate than those of the Church of England, which are excluded by law from the Board schools south of the Tweed. The merit of the Cowper-Temple clause is that it is a check upon denominationalism; and that it renders it easier in the English system of education for boys and girls whose parents belong to different religious communities to be educated together. That surely is an object at which our statesmen ought to aim. It is the shallowest of pretences that it is necessary, in the bringing up of children as good Christians and good citizens, to instil into them, almost from their babyhood, the teaching of those elaborate formularies which are the favourite battle-ground of Christian sects. The Roman Catholic priesthood will probably always insist upon the separation in educational matters of their own youthful flocks from the contaminating influence of Protestant youth. With the former we must expect that the views of the priesthood will determine the action of the laity. But with Protestant churches and sects the sentiments of the laity count for much more; and even were the clergy universally in favour of the denominational system, it may well be that the growing dislike, among laymen, to the exaggeration of sectarian difference, and the steady diminution of sectarian animosity, will in time give increased popularity to a general undenominational system, such as it has been the object of the Cowper-Temple compromise to promote.

The Bill was of necessity withdrawn, the Government pledging themselves to provide, before the commencement of next financial year, assistance to the Voluntary schools. No good purpose would have been served by any further pressing forward of the measure this year. Its failure was, of course, hailed by the Opposition as a great triumph; yet it may well be doubted whether, from the party point of view, the proposals of the Ministry had not caused far more dissension in the ranks of the victorious Opposition than in their own. The all-important alliance between Irish Home Rulers and the regular Opposition broke down completely, and vehement was the language in which Irish Roman Catholics and English Nonconformists expressed their dissatisfaction with each other. Yet, in truth, no just complaint could be made against the conduct of the

Irish Home Rule members, who had never undertaken to sink their own political preferences in return for Nonconformist support to the policy of Home Rule!

But it has not been with Rating Bills, or Irish Land Bills, or Education Bills, or with parliamentary rules of procedure that the minds of men during the last year have been mainly occupied. Foreign and colonial politics have been passing through a very trying period, and the credit of the Ministry has been for the most part dependent upon the manner in which Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain have dealt with their difficulties. The Eastern Question, indeed, is always with us. As regards Armenia, Lord Salisbury was confronted with the same problem as Lord Rosebery, and he pursued—as he was almost bound to do—the same policy as his predecessor—viz. that of endeavouring, by the instrumentality of the Concert of Europe, to intimidate the Sultan into putting an end to the massacres of his Armenian subjects, and into providing some sort of just government for the distracted province. This policy has as yet met with no success. Not one of the Continental Powers was willing to take upon itself the duty of imposing upon the Sultan the wishes of Christian Europe; and had Great Britain attempted to take solitary action, it would have been in the face of the disapproval, probably even of the active opposition, of one or more of these Powers. In Crete it appears that the 'Concert' has been more successful, and, owing mainly to the urgency of Lord Salisbury, there are good prospects that under the rule of a Christian governor, and with practical independence from the rule of the Turk, a new era of tranquillity will begin.

But in the last few weeks the whole problem of the Eastern Question has reached a much more acute stage. The Sultan has pursued his policy of massacre—for such it really appears to be—at Constantinople itself, under the very eyes of the Ambassadors of the six Powers representing the Concert of Europe. It is true that the Armenians themselves, in a murderous assault upon the Ottoman Bank, were the first to resort to violence; but the Sultan and his agents appear to have greedily availed themselves of such an opportunity for resorting to wholesale massacres of unoffending citizens. The Ambassadors are convinced that these outrages were either actually instigated by the Sultan and his creatures, or at least were deliberately allowed to continue whilst the Sultan had ample means to bring them to an end. The Ambassadors have concurred in the use of the

strongest language of remonstrance to the Sultan himself; language, indeed, which almost imports that he is not the Sovereign power even in his own capital, and that they are addressing one who must obey their commands, and whose existence is dependent on the sufferance of the Powers they represent. But events have proved in Armenia for the last year and a half that, unless the 'Concert of Europe' proceeds beyond words, the Sultan will remain perfectly indifferent to remonstrances, however vigorous. As yet, the Great Powers have shown themselves as unwilling to concur in taking common action to protect Armenians in Constantinople as they were to protect them in distant Armenia.

Under these circumstances it is natural that a great thrill of indignation should have run through the country. The agitation is a cry for action. Its purpose is to press upon Lord Salisbury the necessity of making an end of Turkish barbarity and misrule; and, so far, instead of assuming, as in 1876, the character of a party agitation, the meetings and the speakers vigorously assert that their great object is to strengthen Lord Salisbury's hands, and to assure the Ministry that public opinion will support them in any vigorous steps they may take to put an end once for all to a state of things which is a scandal to civilisation. Mr. Gladstone, notwithstanding his great age, has come forth from his retirement, and shown once more that no man is so fit as he to give emphatic voice to popular emotions which he so keenly shares. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Asquith, and other ex-Ministers have also spoken, and as week has succeeded week there has been apparent a growing indisposition amongst Opposition speakers to urge on the Ministry warlike action by Great Britain against the Turk regardless of the policy of the other Powers of Europe. At first, indeed, the more fiery orators of the platform, and still fiercer writers in the press, insisted that, so great was British responsibility for Turkish misrule, so bound were we by treaty and by honour to espouse the cause of our fellow-Christians, that with or without assistance we must ourselves and alone force upon the Sultan, by means of our fleets and armies, the establishment of a just rule throughout his dominions. These gentlemen have now learned that the sending of a British fleet to Constantinople to take separate action would mean war with Russia as well as with Turkey, and that it is more than probable that the first result of such a move would be the further outbreak on a gigantic scale of a wholesale massacre of Christians.

That the agitation is now taking a wiser and more cautious line is mainly owing to the patriotic conduct of Lord Rosebery. The two statesmen in the Opposition ranks best acquainted with foreign politics are Lord Rosebery and Sir Charles Dilke. At the beginning of the excitement, when popularity was to be gained by violent declamation and by the reckless use of language which meant—if it meant anything—a policy of war, Lord Rosebery and Sir Charles Dilke calmly pointed out to their countrymen the unwisdom of the path they were being advised to take. Lord Rosebery may momentarily suffer in popularity for the good advice that he has given; but, after all, Englishmen like a statesman who keeps his head cool and his judgment clear, even in the turmoil of a popular agitation; and the great service which he has lately done to his country will yet be fully appreciated.*

Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool struck a note which has been too often absent from recent meetings. He pointed out that he, at all events, made no call for an anti-Mahomedan crusade. Our great object should be, he said, the bringing to the Turkish Empire of just government to Christian and Mahomedan alike, and that it was monstrously unjust to accuse Mahomedanism at large of the crimes and atrocities of the Sultan's rule. Where Mr. Gladstone's speech was disappointing was not in the expression of his sentiments and his hopes, which all Englishmen share, but in the means he proposed to give effect to them. The British Government should make a peremptory demand upon the Sultan to secure henceforth his subjects against the recurrence of these monstrous outrages and barbarities. If no favourable answer was vouchsafed to this demand, the Turkish Ambassador was to be dismissed from London and Sir Philip Currie recalled from Constantinople, and the country would then be able to consider what action it would be advisable to take in order to force the Sultan to comply with our demand. This was Mr. Gladstone's only suggestion, failing the successful working in the first instance of the European Concert!

Sir William Harcourt has still more recently addressed the public. His advice is to make an end once for all of

* On the day of Mr. Gladstone's speech at Liverpool Lord Rosebery wrote, that 'for England to interfere in this grave and terrible matter without the co-operation of other European Powers would be in his judgement to *court a European war*.'—'Times,' September 25, 1896.

Turkish rule. His reliance is less upon the European Concert than on a complete understanding with Russia. In favour of isolated action by Great Britain against Turkey he has no word to say. It is very natural, he thinks, that Russia should be suspicious of Great Britain; but that Englishmen should imagine that Russia has purposes of selfish aggrandisement, and should refrain from giving her a helping hand to any positions she may covet, is a mark of that innate selfishness of spirit on the part of British statesmen which he has never ceased to rebuke. Russia, we gather, is to be invited to do what she likes with the Turkish Empire so that the rule of the Turk is abolished, and Great Britain is to help her to carry out her projects; for these cannot possibly have any injurious effects upon 'British interests,' about which it is really too selfish of Englishmen to take a thought.

We turn our eyes for a moment from selfish England, occupied with her own thoughts of aggrandisement, to the Powers of Europe, which have so long been prevented (according to some political teachers) by British policy from substituting a just rule for the hateful barbarism of the Turk. We find that it was Russia that prevented England from taking forcible action against the Sultan in the interest of his subjects in Armenia, by intimating that in such an event Russia would be on the side of the Sultan; and this was whilst our enthusiastic Russophil, Sir William Harcourt, was in office. In Russia, in Austria, and in France, it appears that up to the present time the common watchword has been the maintenance intact, in the interests of European peace, of the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The public has not yet been made acquainted with the recent action of continental diplomacy; but it is impossible to question that the assertion of the able writer in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes'—'Personne aujourd'hui, nous en 'sommes convaincus, ne désire la chute de l'empire otto-'man'*—represents the prevalent feeling on the Continent. The fact is that the break-up of the Turkish Empire, if it takes place, will necessarily affect for better or worse, and in more or less degree, the position of almost every European state, and so difficult will be the adjustment of interests to which it will give rise that war between the Great Powers would become extremely probable. It is trifling with the whole subject to pretend that in the ultimate

* M. Francis Charmes, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' September, 1896.

settlement of the Eastern Question there are no difficulties but those connected with the misrule of the Sultan.

The agitation is a genuine one. The heart of the public has been deeply stirred; and from the present state of popular feeling very important developements of national policy may arise. The aspect of home politics cannot but be affected by a popular movement to some extent outside ordinary party lines, and which throws into the shade almost every other subject of political interest. On the one hand, should no substantial results be achieved in the interest of the persecuted subjects of Turkey, the most profound dissatisfaction will be felt by the people of this country. On the other hand, should 'British interests' greatly suffer by any readjustments of power in the East of Europe, the Ministry must expect to be severely called to account by public feeling, which, we doubt not, will be righteously spurred on by the ardent patriotism of Sir William Harcourt.

We do not wish, however, to speculate on the future. For the present, at least, the Ministry are not confronted with a rival foreign policy. The attempt must not yet be abandoned to keep the Great Powers together, to operate through the 'Concert of Europe.' So say leading statesmen on both sides of politics. Hence, so far, public opinion has shown no tendency to consolidate in support of Opposition statesmen on the leading question of the day, or to withdraw any part of its confidence from Lord Salisbury's administration.

So deep has been the interest in the latest phase of the eternal Eastern Question that the public has almost forgotten Lord Salisbury's first foreign difficulty. There is not much resemblance between the Turks and our cousins across the Atlantic; nor between the difficulties of the Eastern Question and of a disputed frontier of Venezuela. Yet only nine months ago we were painfully reminded of the possibility of a quarrel with those we considered our best friends about a matter in which few English men or Americans took the slightest interest.

On December 18 of last year the British public was electrified by the publication of a Message from President Cleveland to the Congress of the United States of America, claiming, on behalf of his Government, the right to require Great Britain to submit to arbitration the question of a disputed boundary between British Guiana and the State of Venezuela. In case of arbitration being declined by Great Britain, the

Message informed Congress that the Government of the United States would at once itself appoint a Commission to determine the boundary, and would take measures to enforce its decision upon Great Britain. The result of this Message was to cause a financial panic in America, and to call forth in the first instance an amount of hostile feeling towards Great Britain for which Englishmen were quite unprepared. The American claim seemed to Englishmen a strange one, as it amounted to nothing less than a claim to delimit the frontiers of the British Empire on the American continent, wherever disputed, from the North Pole to Cape Horn. The United States has of course as little authority over Venezuela as over Great Britain, and the definition of the frontier between them was a matter for negotiation between the two neighbouring States, with which President Cleveland had no right to meddle. It was, it need not be said, open to him to offer his services to bring to an agreement the two disputants; but the pretension to settle their differences without their joint consent, or the consent of either of them, was an attempt to set up a sort of suzerainty of the United States over the whole of the New World which no European Power would think for a moment of recognising. Neither the President nor anyone else in the United States rested the justification for this interference upon any supposed interest of the American nation in the boundary line to be drawn between British Guiana and Venezuela. The action of the President was supported on the extraordinary plea that, as a corollary to the 'Monroe 'Doctrine,' the United States had the right to *dictate* arbitration as the proper mode of fixing international boundaries between the States of the Western Hemisphere, and, if that was refused, to define the lines for itself, and to enforce their adoption. As a matter of fact, the so-called 'doctrine' of President Monroe, contained in his Message to Congress in 1823, could not by any amount of stretching be made to cover such a claim as this. At that time there was some prospect that, in pursuance of the policy of the Holy Alliance, Spain might have the assistance of other European nations in regaining her authority over her revolted colonies, and in substituting for the newly established republican systems in South America the arbitrary monarchical principles so dear to the hearts of Continental Europe. 'We could not view,' said President Monroe, 'any interposition for the purpose of oppressing' these South American States, 'or controlling in any

'manner their destiny by a European Power, in any other 'light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition 'toward the United States.' The President, in short, made a protest against the re-establishment in South America of a European monarchy by force of arms, and Great Britain heartily approved the American protest.

Mr. Lecky has recently argued with much force that democratic representative institutions often fail to give representation to the better and more staid elements of national character. Here we have the President and the Congress of the United States, without a shadow of justification for it, concurring in the presentation to a friendly and kindred nation of an ultimatum which might easily have plunged the two great Anglo-Saxon nations in a disastrous war. Reckless, almost to the point of criminality, as was the action of the President, it seemed at first to meet with the approval of his countrymen, and it was only as time went on that the voices of the more sober and patriotic citizens and journals made themselves heard over the clamour of a 'jingo' mob. It is strange and melancholy to read the language used in the early part of this year by American senators and other politicians of standing in the United States. In this country, generally speaking, a sense of responsibility accompanies a high position in the State, and our public men in a time of international crisis do their best to avoid using inflammatory language. Mr. David A. Wells, in his excellent paper on the 'United States and Great 'Britain,' gives a few specimens of the violent language which American politicians were not ashamed to utter in the earlier months of the present year. Mr. Wells and Mr. E. J. Phelps, in a wise and truly patriotic spirit, have called the attention of their countrymen to the real nature of the President's demands, to the Monroe doctrine, and to the relations between Great Britain and the United States; and in so doing they have earned the thanks of all good citizens in both nations.*

What we have to deal with here is the action of our own people and our own public men in a crisis of such a trying character. There was neither panic nor bluster. All men were united in repudiating the pretensions of the American President. If he really proposed to enforce those pretensions by

* 'America and Europe.' A Study of International Relations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. See also an interesting pamphlet by Professor George Burton Adams, of Yale University, called 'Why Americans dislike England.'

force of arms, Great Britain would, as a matter of course, have recourse to arms in self-defence. But it was almost impossible to believe that the American people, towards whom there was no feeling but that of goodwill in the breasts of Englishmen, would allow themselves to be led so far astray by politicians devoid of every sense of responsibility. This quiet bearing on the part of the public, the peaceful and dignified tone of the Press, the abstinence on the part of our politicians of language of an irritating character, bore excellent fruit, and before many weeks were over American citizens were showing how little the graver men amongst them approved the jingo shriekings of the violent anti-British section of their countrymen. Lord Salisbury handled with admirable temper and discretion the controversy which had been forced upon him. Never before has our Foreign Office behaved with more patient regard to the great interests of peace, and with a stronger determination neither to take nor to give offence. Between nations as between individuals it takes two to make a quarrel, and Lord Salisbury in truth consulted the true dignity of his own country, as well as the interest of both nations, in the calm spirit in which he met the preposterous pretensions of the Government of the United States. Out of this controversy may yet spring results of the greatest benefit to the two nations, if the discussion between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney really advances the prospect of systematic arbitration of disputes between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon people.

Lord Salisbury has, however, not had to bear on his shoulders the whole weight of the external troubles that have come upon his Administration. Mr. Chamberlain has assuredly had his full share. In April last we dealt at length with South African affairs and with the difficulties that had arisen in the winter as a consequence of the lawless and criminal raid led by Dr. Jameson into the territory of the friendly Republic of the Transvaal.* These matters need not therefore detain us long on this occasion. Mr. Chamberlain's promptness and decision were recognised by men of all parties. The raid was disavowed, the raiders were brought home and put upon their trial, and successful efforts were made to mitigate the severity of the authorities of the Transvaal towards the prisoners in their hands. Since then Mr. Chamberlain has been bitterly attacked from opposite sides—on the one hand for humiliating himself before President Kruger, on the other hand for not withdrawing

* Edinburgh Review, No. 376, April, 1896.

the Charter from the South African Company, and for not treating Mr. Rhodes with the same severity awarded to his instruments, Dr. Jameson and his friends. Mr. Chamberlain has been consistent from first to last. The first thing he had to do was to stop, if possible, the raid, to disavow it, and put the offenders on their trial; and these things he endeavoured to do and did. At the same time he has always declared that the raid, though the most striking incident of the situation, was not the whole nor the principal difficulty he had to deal with; and he has never allowed himself to be diverted, by a desire to obtain punishment for those who deserved it, from the great end of once more drawing together the feelings of Englishmen and Dutchmen so rudely shaken, not only in the Transvaal, but through the whole of Cape Colony. As regards Mr. Rhodes and the Company, the Secretary of State declared his intention as soon as the suspicious nature of the transactions had come out. Till the raiders were tried he would not authorise an investigation which would bear upon their case. As soon as that was over a searching investigation should be held into the complicity of the Chartered Company and its officials, and accordingly on the day of the conviction of Dr. Jameson Mr. Chamberlain moved for the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to make a searching examination into the conduct of the Company. Whether Mr. Rhodes will treat that Committee with more respect than the committee of the Cape Parliament, and appear before it, remains to be seen. The evidence collected at the Cape tells a very different story of the whole inception and preparation of the raid from that which was for long current in England. It is clear that the conspiracy had been long and deliberately planned by those who held positions of authority and of trust; that fraud had been practised upon the Governor, the representative of the Queen in the Colony; and that every means had been taken by the preparation of false intelligence to deceive public opinion at home. It is charitable to suppose that most of those who still apologise for the raid, and treat the offence of the raiders as a mere technical crime, which as a matter of policy it was necessary to punish, have failed to make themselves acquainted with the true facts of the case. Upon the evidence now made public, the planning of the raid is seen to have been an unscrupulous and fraudulent proceeding. It entailed (as was fully contemplated) the deaths of a number of perfectly innocent persons. It was the direct cause of the miserable native war which is not yet at an

end. It brought Great Britain and the German Empire within a measurable distance of war, and has had a most unfortunate effect in straining the relations of the two Powers at a time when it is eminently desirable that hearty cordiality should prevail between them. Those who planned the raid were regardless of the national honour, which was pledged to respect the independence of the Transvaal; and those who carried it out, by the utter feebleness of their performance, brought disgrace upon the British flag.

As regards the affairs of the Cape and the Transvaal, the Opposition have shown no desire as a party to find fault with the policy of the Unionist Government. On the other hand, the sudden change of policy in Egypt and the advance of the Anglo-Egyptian army towards Dongola were sharply criticised by some of the Opposition chiefs; and had any failure or check occurred, the warnings they had uttered would have been recalled again and again to the ears of the public. But the expedition has been admirably planned and carried through by Sir Herbert Kitchener and his staff, and the Egyptian troops have more than come up to the expectations formed of them by their best friends. The campaign has been a brilliant success, and under these circumstances no party advantage can be gained by denouncing the policy which brought it about.

Since the above was in type, the party situation has been suddenly disturbed, by the unexpected action of Lord Rosebery in resigning the leadership of the Liberal Party. In his letter to the chief Opposition Whip in the House of Commons, published in the newspapers of October 8, he bases his action on an 'apparent difference with a consider-'able mass of the Liberal Party on the Eastern Question, 'and some conflict of opinion with Mr. Gladstone' on the same subject, whilst 'from scarcely any quarter does he 'receive explicit support.' In these circumstances he declares it is best for his party and for himself that he should speak out his mind 'not as a leader but as a free 'man.' We have already stated our belief that Lord Rosebery's conduct since the commencement of the present agitation has been of great service to the country. The relations that have existed between Lord Rosebery and some of his principal colleagues have notoriously been such as are rare indeed amongst English statesmen professedly engaged in furthering the same political cause. Lord Rosebery in 1892, by joining Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary, made possible (it is not too much to say) Mr. Gladstone's last administration. Lord Rosebery, in 1893, by

accepting the post of Prime Minister, prevented the Gladstonian Party from falling to pieces upon the retirement of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery has had little loyal support from a party which he has well served. Apart, however, from all mere party interests, the country will be the gainer that, in the dangerous crisis of the Eastern Question through which we are now passing, it will hear the unbiassed advice of an eminent statesman, unhampered by party ties, who is looking solely to its honour and its welfare.

Recent events enforce the conclusions to which a general retrospect of a year and a half clearly points. Never, indeed, has there been a time when more careful steering of the ship of State was required. Never has there been a time when it was more necessary that the helm should be firmly held. The public rejoices that during such a time a strong Cabinet, strongly supported in Parliament, guides the destinies of the country. Where else, indeed, but to the Unionist Ministry and the Unionist party can the country look? Where is the alternative policy? Where is the alternative leader? Where is the statesman, or the group of statesmen, to whom the people wish to turn? No one can pretend that the tide of opinion has yet begun to change.

As we survey the present position of British politics, we see but one political combination that really deserves to be considered a great Party. Against it are arrayed both in Great Britain and Ireland a number of groups and factions, united by no great principle and led by jarring politicians who are rivals rather than colleagues. The condition of the Opposition presents a melancholy spectacle. But this is not due to such incidents as Mr. Gladstone's speech, Sir William Harcourt's want of loyalty, or Lord Rosebery's resignation. It is the direct result of the action of Mr. Gladstone in 1886. He then dealt a blow to the credit and strength of his party from which it has not recovered. He could not indeed destroy Liberal principles, but that 'great 'instrument for good,' that great political combination whose special boast it was to uphold those principles, he shattered in pieces. No one, but the most thoughtless partisans of the present Ministry, can rejoice over the disintegration and demoralisation of the Opposition. We hope that its worst days are past. On the other hand, a man must be a reckless partisan, indeed, who would wish at the present time to trust the guidance of the country to other hands than those of the Unionist Ministry.

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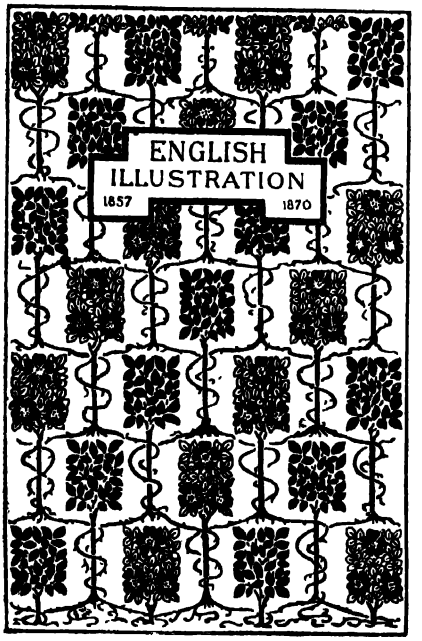
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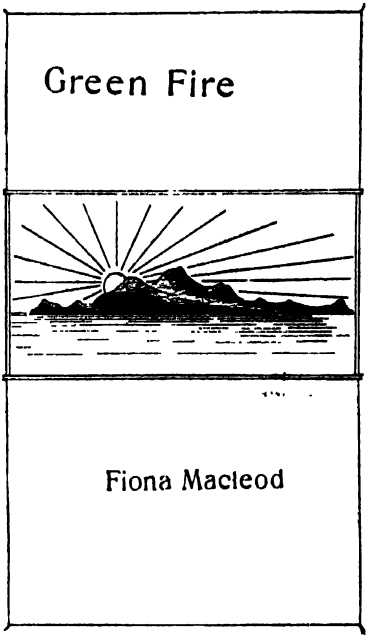
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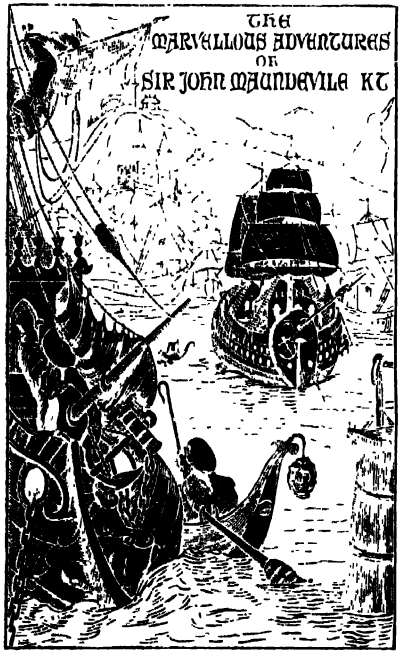
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44	3 3 3	3 15 3	4 13 10	7 16 9	46 19 7	44
45	3 5 9	3 17 6	4 16 4	8 0 7	48 0 8	45
46	3 8 5	4 0 0	4 19 1	8 4 6	49 2 8	46
47	3 11 5	4 2 8	5 2 1	8 8 8	50 5 8	47
48	3 14 8	4 5 8	5 5 4	8 13 2	51 9 7	48
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